

# MACLEAN'S

## THE ANNUAL MACLEAN'S POLL

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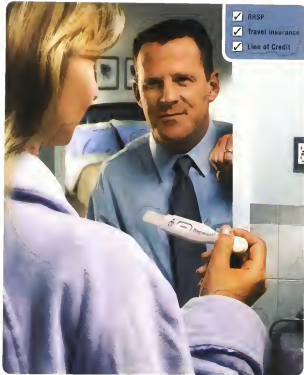
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## OF PAST AND PRESENT

The problem with instant history is that events are notoriously uncooperative

Editor Anthony Wilson-Smith was ill. In his place, Executive Editor Bob Levac wrote this week's editorial.

**WE WANT TO** tie it all up, nail it down, move on. One year ends and another begins and, arbitrary as our system of dividing time may be, there's an impulse to sum up 2002 the way we saw progress, pain and peril. Certainly in journalism we write a sort of instant history, not only reporting events but trying to explain what they mean. The problem, of course, is that events are notoriously uncooperative and may turn out to mean something very different just a little while later. And the past, far from lying still under a tree, continues to roll, to heave, to haunt.

In this double issue, which will be on newsstands until Jan. 13, we feature a snapshot of public opinion on the magazine's 39th annual year-end poll, plus a look back at this past year in "Images 2002." The poll (page 24), in partnership with Global Television and the newspaper of Cbc/Mac Publications, and moderated by The Strategic Council, reveals a nation that, despite relative peace and prosperity, disengaged if not downright angry. Canadians don't trust government or business leaders, we fret about our social safety net fraying and discontent living homes; we're skeptical about an American-led attack on Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Maybe we're simply too aware of the past to fully enjoy the present. A year ago in Maclean's (Sept. 11 and its aftermath) dominated our "Images 2001." Now, the photos of 2002 (page 46) of Canadian soldiers patrolling poppy fields in Afghanistan, of the 9/11 bombing and Middle East violence and the B.C. pig farm where murdered women were buried—are reminders of disturbing stories that have no end, that continue to afflict us today. And some of the happier images seem to come from so long ago we're really 2002 when Canada captured double gold in Olympic hockey and pairs skaters Salé and Pelletier were doing the Fanny Shaw?



The effusive words of Ahmednagar (top) and Levac were great that "the past is never dead."

Sometimes the past comes up like some movie ghoul and we're scared in horror. Native leader David Ahlesnack's public praise for Hitler's daughter of the Jews was roundly denounced, so was U.S. Senator Trent Lott's comment that the nation would have been better off if segregationist Strom Thurmond had been elected president in 1948 (page 37). Here was the ultimate proof that, in the widely quoted words of novelist William Faulkner, "The past is never dead. It's not even past."

Not enough. There's his scolding cranky here, mauling in the gloom. So, with no disrespect to the past, here's to the future—and a happy New Year to all.

[awilson@maclean.ca](mailto:awilson@maclean.ca) to comment on The Editor's Letter

## MACLEAN'S

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'Problems with the dwindling workforce could be solved by making it easier for our own Canadian youth to be education and trained.' —NAREY ROBINSON, MTHRU, ONT.

#### Open and closed doors

Everything I read in "Immigrants: how many is too many?" (Cover, Dec. 16) filled me with hope. My husband is a Dutch citizen and I am Canadian. We got married in July 2000. We have been patiently waiting for the OK from Canadian Immigration so that he can come here. He speaks fluent English, is a computer engineer and is willing to move to South St. Mary. I am an elementary school teacher. All of these factors should strengthen our case, according to the article. However, the reality is full of frustration, waiting and heartache. I urge Immigration Minister Denis Cochrane to seriously consider fast-tracking applications, give skilled workers the promise of a secure job in low-crowded regions and work with the provinces, cities, businesses and professional groups to make sure the new arrivals feel welcome and their skills are recognized.

NARAYAN KADHARATH, South St. Mary, Ont.

My family immigrated to Canada from Austria in 1990. We came on the SS *Beverly*, a converted freighter that carried escapee refugees and immigrant families from Europe from 1940 to 1954. In the past several years, reunions of these refugees and immigrants have been held in Red Deer, as many came to Alberta. Guests take turns telling of a desperate flight from a homeland, a harrowing up-seas on an unkind ocean, and the struggle to make a home in Canada. We reflect on today's refugees in cold terms: economic migrants, queue jumpers—or with recent drift, it was always so, say those with vivid memories of their own arrival here. But the pride in their roots and accomplishments obscures the fact that most of us have no more claim to this wonderful land than the newest arrival. We prosper because Canadians opened their doors yesterday. Canadians will thrive in the future only as long as more doors open to those who migrate here to share in our peace and good fortune.

WALTER KISHOREN, Red Deer, Alta.

I emigrated from the U.S. to Canada in 1975, after four months of indecision and



immigrants at Canada House in London. To answer the question, "Could Canada's immigration laws be improved?" No! They need only to go back to what they were 30 years ago. Canada, without doubt, is the freest, most hospitable country in the world to live in, so why then should not the laws demand that immigrants meet stringent prerequisites before they even set foot on this great land?

Ed Gosholt, Norwood, N.C.

After having lived in Norway for 14 years and following the monthly abuse of refugees

#### READER RESPONSE TO OUR DEC. 16

**COVER STORY ON IMMIGRATION DEMONSTRATES ANXIETY** over where our policies are taking the country. "Values brought with the new arrivals sometimes chafe against the settled culture that was the basis of, or is identified with, the founding of Canada," noted *Times* Editor-in-Chief Langton Cox. "Hence, the calls for the Chouinard test to be re-named the 'Holiday test'." Stating that a healthy mix makes for a vibrant society. But again poses the less wonderful, "as in the leadership question it is sure at what point does the indigenous become overly stressed or endangered?"

policy debates there, I was positively surprised by the gracious tone of immigration and refugee policy here when I immigrated to Canada two years ago. Daniel Stoffman's essay ("Facing the refugee crisis," *Cover*, Dec. 16) seems to represent an ominous in-fiction point in the debate. Contrary to Stoffman's claim, Canadians should be proud that their refugee policy provides such a stark contrast to Norway's. A trademark of Norway's anti-immigration ruling party's refugee policy is to "help the refugees where they are" rather than accepting what the party refers to as "cultural/ethnic" peoples. By contrast, Canada is the best example of how supporting the ethical choice of helping refugees in the Third World and having a generous acceptance rate for in-Canada refugee claims need not be couched in terms of a trade-off.

Maec Pomer, Ottawa

Ugh! Here comes Daniel Stoffman again with his same old tired schtick, portraying lawyers as profiteers, volunteer refugee advocates as collaborators in the "lucrative" refugee industry and Canadians in general as dupes—all for treating refugee families with decency and fairness.

Bethann Smith, Ottawa

Canada's strong immigration policy of offering sanctuary to the poor bereft people of the Third World is little more than imperialism, slandering the vision of the enterprisers, best educated and hardest working from the societies who need them most.

Robert Radulovic, Victoria

Immigration policy operates at the intersection of politics, economics and anthropology. As an immigrant who has lived in Canada since 1973, I think our current levels of immigration are ignoring the human realities of integrating people into Canada. Before 1984, immigration to Canada came in waves with a pause to permit our wonderful country to better absorb immigrants. Canada's national interest would be best served by returning to the original immigration program that existed in the 1970s. The hallmark of that program was a focus on economic factors rather than family reunification. As a visible minority myself, I wonder what the majority of Canadians feel about the demographic changes that are going

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on "Rapid large-scale immigration has thrust to the second forefront that we all cherish: **Rachel Weissman, Ottawa**

#### Registered weapons

After reading your article "Holding our heavy arms" (Politics, Dec. 16), dealing with the gun-registry fiasco and identifying the \$160-million cost overrun of taxpayers' money, it occurred to me that had this happened in private enterprise, those responsible would be promptly terminated for gross mismanagement and incompetence. It is a scary thought, then, that Alan Rock, the primary culprit in this scenario, has as pretence to become the next prime minister of Canada.

**Michael Whalen, Brampton, Ont.**



A. Ineffective bureaucracy runs gun control

I might not mind this brainless bureau may if the gun-registry process was actually meant to reduce crime. But remember that these are Liberals who designed a parole system where repeat offenders get a volume discount, the same folks who kept insisting that Marbohn is not a terrorist or assassin. However, they believe that a farmer who owns a rifle to keep deer away from his sheep is a menace to society. **Tom Fyfe, Calgary**

#### Saving the seabirds

As the lead technical adviser, I was delighted that Macdon's wrote about the recent intergovernmental agreement to place international controls on seabird trade. "An international treaty for a fishy situation," *Country News*, Dec. 16. I do want to point out that we need accurate "continuous" counts by 160 countries. Nonetheless, we were delighted that three quarters of the voting countries supported international monitoring and management. Our success will depend largely on how well our countries, including disinterested, are invited to implement management of this vital trade.

**Arnold Weissman, Director, Project Seabirds, Fisheries Centre, University of British Columbia, Vancouver**

#### And the word was Oad

What Brian Behrman really wants to say is that Israel is a fiction, but he doesn't dare ("Is the Good Book bad history?" *Carve*, Dec. 9). What Israeli biblical "history" is legitimacy is its commitment to ethical monotheism and moral accountability on

which Western values are founded. So, "re-viving" historical values can serve only one purpose: to undermine Israel's right to exist. Since when does any country have to produce archaeological evidence to make a historical claim to land anyway? If this is the benchmark for a nation's legitimacy, then North Americans should start packing their bags. **Alfred Weiss, Richmond, Va.**

Confirmation from excavations is great. However, carefully, even tentatively preserved written documents dating from a time much closer to the events than the interpretations of modern archaeologists should not be so lightly dismissed. The accounts were not just as incongruent as we are and capable of discerning the accuracy of what they were writing. You would have done well to consult a few more scholars in the right of the specimen to get a different perspective.

**Gerard Weissman, Bible Institute, Columbia Bible College, Abilene, Tex.**

The one key and detrimental thing that biblical historians on all sides seem to neglect each time they make observations regarding archaeology and the Bible is the existence of our Lord God. Scholar Israel Finkelstein makes a marvelous point, which I believe wholly points to the existence of God, when he states that David and Solomon were not in the social standings to be kings or to have the resources to conquer Israel. That isn't depicted in the Bible. In fact, it's

omitted because the Lord took them from nothing and delivered them Israel.

**Lori Weiss, Calgary**

#### Ask a banker

Your conversation with John Crow missed a few questions for me: "Counting on Crow," *Business*, Dec. 9. If this a for question took a central banker "Do you have a mortgage?", it might equally be fair to ask, "Do you have a retirement income plan? And is it a conservative plan, providing monthly income on unrepayably low interest rates?" More appropriate questions for the employed central banker: "When are you planning on retiring?" "What is the makeup of your RRRSP?" "If our central banker's usual location was widely known, perhaps it could be used as a standard against which all Canadians could check their portfolio to be sure their assets were given to be looked after. **Tom Luder, South River, Ont.**

#### Tattoo delight

Prior to my 60th birthday, I had been chatting with my kids about body art. I said I would entertain a discreet tattoo on my ankle. To my great surprise (and delight), my son Tim gave me a birthday gift certificate to a well-researched tattoo parlour. I came away with a bevy of body symbols that circled around the ankle and back to my heart. Like Sandra Phinney: "Tattoo you—and me." Over to You, Dec. 9. I am enjoying the attention. **Margo Palmer, Collingwood, Ont.**

#### Spurning co-operation

Barham, Israel's quiet success. The late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's decision to fire the Israeli was a milestone of great importance to the Middle East ("Where is today's Sudan?" *Column*, Dec. 16). With some help from former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, a lasting peace between Israel and Egypt followed. What Anwar doesn't mention is that this was the second ultimatum for Israel in the warzone. The first came in the spring of 1977 when Israel, for the first time in its history, turned to the political right. Under Menachem Begin, Israel not only turned its back on the Palestinian people in the Occupied Territories, it turned away from peace. Within 10 years, Begin and his Likud successor turned peaceful co-operation with the Palestinians into violent confrontation.

**Larry Henry, Ottawa**



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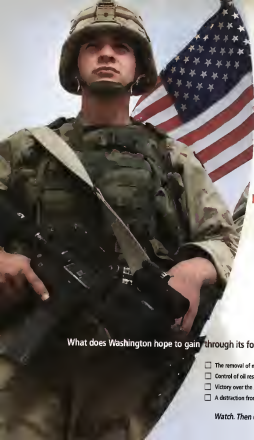


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## MACLEAN'S BEHIND THE SCENES



### THE DISTEMPER OF OUR TIMES

As 2002 gives way to 2003, Canadians are in a curiously cranky frame of mind. That's the principal finding of Maclean's 15th annual year-end poll.

"It's a paradox," says Assistant Managing Editor Bob Marshall. "On one hand Canadians are generally positive about our political leadership, the economy and the state of their lives. They even report improved levels of sexual activity. On the other hand, there's a higher level of pessimism than we've seen in recent years."

Marshall (above) thinks Canadians may be feeling a generalized sense of hopelessness because they see so many unresolved "big" issues—terrorism, the international role of the U.S., an uncertain economy, continuing problems with health care and education. "All these things have an impact on their lives but they have no control over the outcomes," he explains. "It leaves people feeling uneasy and powerless."

Maclean's partnered with Global TV and The Strategic Counsel to create the poll, based on interviews with 1,400 Canadians. The results are a valuable tool for keeping track of the mood of the country, says Marshall. "The information is particularly useful because we've asked many of the same questions over the years. Two decades' worth of responses provide a very good sense of the national trend lines."

Marshall, who has been involved in most of the year-end polls since their 1984 inception, says he always looks forward to this issue. "The process of formulating the questions and putting the poll together is fascinating. It's an opportunity to reflect each year on the kinds of questions that get to the heart of a nation's shifting feelings and concerns."

Maclean's year-end poll issue is on newsstands until Jan. 5, 2003.

For further information, contact [behindthescenes@maclean.ca](mailto:behindthescenes@maclean.ca)

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### THEWEEK



#### Chaos in Venezuela

The civil unrest that has crippled Venezuela continued, with most gas stations closing down. Since Dec. 2, the country has been coping with a virtual standstill in the streets between the opposition—a coalition of political parties and business groups that called the nationwide general strike—and leftist president Hugo Chávez. The strike has almost closed down the oil industry (Venezuela is the world's fifth largest oil exporter), resulting in a gasoline shortage.

#### Long time coming

On Sept. 20, 2001, amid the heinous acts of 9/11, Sandra Brown Turner, a security guard at Toronto's Pearson International Airport, demanded to see ID from a police officer coming through her checkpoint. After a heated argument, she was dragged away in handcuffs to a Peel Regional Police station, subjected to a strip search, and charged with creating a disturbance. Last week, when her case finally came to court, the Crown dropped the charge—without explanation of why it took 15 months to come to that decision. "I'm still angry," Turner said. "I was doing my job, but look what I went through." Earlier this month Peel police settled a lawsuit brought against them by Turner.

#### The final frontier

The Raichens, a Quebec-based sect that believes in free love and extraterrestrials, announced that they have produced the first home in line. Spoken for and the baby girl, a genetic replica of her mother, should be born soon—possibly on Christmas Day. The Raichens movement was founded by Claude Venetien of France, who says that in 1973 he was abducted by aliens and taken to a planet where he met Jesus, Mohammed, Buddha and Moses. Venetien, who now calls himself Ford, says he was sent back to earth to prepare for the second coming of the creature-

rebirth, who, according to the Raichens, created humans through DNA technology.

#### Signed, sealed and delivered

Prime Minister Jean Chretien officially ratified the Kyoto Protocol, and Environment Minister David Anderson delivered the papers to the United Nations in New York. With that, Canada became the 96th country to sign on to the agreement, aimed at reducing greenhouse gases. But opposition to the accord remains strong, especially in Alberta, where Ralph Klein's government is considering legal action against it.

#### Compensating war babies

Norway's parliament voted overwhelmingly in favour of compensation for children of Norwegian mothers and German soldiers. During the occupation of Norway by Hitler's forces, many German soldiers established relationships with Norwegian women—encouraged by the Third Reich's Lebensborn program to further the Aryan race. After the war, children from those relationships endured discrimination and were often forced to live under horrific conditions (many of the mothers were deported or arrested as collaborators). "This is a black spot in the history of Norway," said parliamentarian Finn Kristian Mathiesen, who headed an investigation into the issue of war babies. The amount of compensation remains to be determined.

#### Law wants healing

In his first public statement since resigning as archbishop of Boston on Dec. 12, Cardinal Bernard Law begged his "reignition might help the additional experience healing, reconciliation and unity." Law had been under fire for overlooking sexual abuse by priests. The Boston archdiocese is currently facing lawsuits from more than 400 people who allege they were abused.

#### Quebec City sex ring

The juvenile prostitutes were, according to investigators, run by a Quebec City street gang called the Wolf Pack. And among their clients were, allegedly, Robert Galt, Quebec City's top radio host, Yvan Cloutier, former president of the Winter Carnival, and prominent restaurateur Charles Nadeau. The three were among 20 people arrested in a crackdown on the ring, which involved at least 17 girls between the ages of 14 and 17. Police say many of the underage prostitutes had been



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fined into the traffic, with clerics paying up to \$300 for sex acts that authorities said "surpass the imagination."

#### Quality of war crimes

In The Hague, Bijana Planinc, the former Bosnian-Serb president known to the "Iron Lady" admitted to crimes against humanity and exposed someone over Bosnian Crisis and Mathers killed during the 1992-95 Bosnian war. Planinc, 72, also implicated former Yugoslav dictator Slobodan Milosevic, saying he and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic incited against the brutal ethnic cleansing campaign against non-Serbs. Milosevic is currently on trial in The Hague; Karadzic remains at large.

#### Goods across the water

Canada and the European Union signed a pledge to increase bilateral trade and investment. Although the EU is Canada's second largest trading partner, in 2001 the EU accounted for only \$18.3 billion in Canadian exports, compared to \$33.1 billion in goods exported to the United States. "Today, we confirmed the strong partnership between the EU and Canada," said Anders Fogh Rasmussen, prime minister of Denmark and president of the EU's European Council. Some officials hope the move will eventually lead to a Canada-EU free trade zone.

#### Crime and consequences

A leader of a vicious street gang in Bogalusa, La., was sentenced to eight years for ag-

gravated assault. On Oct. 26, 2001, Harry Hancock, now 28, and other members of the gang arrested Nicholas Chew Johnson of Toronto as he went to his girlfriend's home with flowers. Johnson's offence, wearing a jacket that was red—the colour of a rival gang. Johnson, 28, remains in a restrictive suite and may never recover.

#### Assets and marriage

The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that, unlike married couples, people in common-law relationships do not have an automatic right to a 50-50 division of assets should they split up. In an 8-1 decision, the court concluded that "with married couples there is a permanent and reciprocal life commitment. Unmarried couples do not make that same commitment and rights and duties akin to marriage should not as a result follow."

#### Moving away from Washington?

Compromising on a platform calling for more independence from Washington, and riding a wave of public resentment toward the United States, former labour lawyer Roh Moo Hyun, 56, won a narrow victory in South Korea's presidential election. South Korea has traditionally been one of the United States' most loyal allies, but Roh angered Washington by campaigning for closer ties with North Korea. As Roh campaigned, thousands protested in the streets after a U.S. court martial acquitted two U.S. soldiers whose vehicle crashed to death two teenage girls during a military exercise in June.

#### Passages

**ANNOUNCED** At 500 km, **Cassini: Le May Doan** was precisely unbeatable last season. The 32-year-old speed skater from Saskatoon didn't lose at that distance until the very last race on the schedule. But when she won the Lou Marsh Trophy last week as the country's top athlete, voters cited her inspiring victory at the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City. Canada's fortunes were falling in the first week of the Games, but under the



crushing pressure that goes with being the defending Olympic champion and overwhelming favorite, Le May Doan, the national team's long jumper, delivered when it counted.

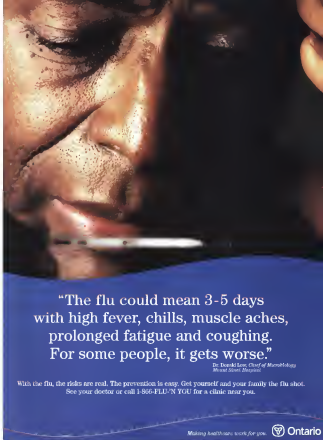
**APPROVED** Former New Jersey governor Thomas Kean, 67, will head the special panel investigating the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. George W. Bush appointed Kean, president of Drew University in Madison, N.J., to replace Henry Kissinger, who resigned on Dec. 13 because of potential conflicts of interest with private sector clients.

**ANNOUNCED** **Al Gore, 54**, who many Americans believe should have won the 2000 presidential election, announced he will run for the Democratic nomination for 2004. Gore won the popular vote but lost to Bush in the Electoral College amid controversy over voting irregularities in Florida.

**DIED** **Bill Hunter, a key player in forming the World Hockey Association in 1972 and part owner of the Edmonton Oilers, worked for years to bring an NHL franchise to his hometown, Saskatoon. In 1983, Hunter—also known as Wild Bill—had arranged to buy the St. Louis Blues and had 18,000 season ticket holders—but the NHL Board of Governors vetoed the plan. Hunter, 62, died in Edmonton of bone cancer.**

**NOMINATED** The low-budget sleeper hit *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* is nominated for two Golden Globe awards. The movie, written by Wincifrey Nixi Vardalos, 40, and filmed in Toronto, is up for best picture—musical or comedy. Vardalos, who plays the main character, is nominated for best actress in a musical or comedy.

BY BRUCE MACKINNON



"The flu could mean 3-5 days with high fever, chills, muscle aches, prolonged fatigue and coughing. For some people, it gets worse."

Dr. Donald Katz, Chief of Microbiology  
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If you know someone who has overcome the challenges of living with mental illness and/or addiction and who has chosen to use his or her experience to contribute to the community, we invite you to nominate him or her for a Courage to Come Back Award.

To submit your nomination or to find out more, please call the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health Foundation at 416-979-6909 or 1-800-414-0473, or visit [www.camh.net](http://www.camh.net)

Nominations must be received by **Monday, February 17, 2003.**

Nominations are open to Ontario residents only.



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## THE WEEK | IN MEMORIAM



Mulroney (with Mulroney) opened the gates of Rideau Hall to dog walkers and bike riders.

## Reaching the heights with wit and whimsy

EVERY 50 OTHER Canadian politics lover or someone who is neither fish nor fowl. A primate, sure, but one who knows the limits. Someone who doesn't take himself too seriously in a world where rage and pretension are the currency of survival. Ray Hnatyshyn, the former Conservative cabinet minister and governor general who died last week at 68, was just such a creature.

Politics was his blood, and last tributed at the dinner table. His father John, later Canada's first senator of Ukrainian descent, was a Stukonson clan of John Diefenbaker. And young Ray, in awe of the old chief, was drawn to the flame. First elected in 1978, he came to rival in the House of Commons. In fact, he was one of its premier leaders—but with a quip—though his pluckiness was followed by a grin or a look of mock horror to dull the thrust. But he was never entirely comfortable with power. You could tell by the clothes he wore.

When he was energy minister in Joe Clark's

brief government in 1979, he'd almost always show up in one of two casual sport coats that stood out among the sea of blue pinstripes on the Tory front benches. A style state man? He was also Mr. Pudge. He'd wring his hands when he rose to speak. He blushed and perspired easily. He never minored that politician's ability to puff himself up.

I pointed this out once in a feature article in the *Globe and Mail* in a way it was both our debut. I was a young reporter, newly posted to Ottawa. He was the energy minister, at a time of skyrocketing oil prices, who had gone to ground for five months to learn his new portfolio before granting an interview. My first draft was rejected by the paper that he was too raw. (What's not to like about Ray Hnatyshyn?) The second version had more opposition quotes, including a warning one from Liberal critic Marc Lalonde: insider speculation about a policy fight, and a headline that say cabinet minister has no dread. It was something like Hnatyshyn

denies he is overwhelmed on energy issues. I remember looking down from the press gallery when the article appeared and feeling a little guilty. But Hnatyshyn never missed a beat. He looked up, wiped some sweat away from his brow and disagreed his lips. The story became a standing joke between us. He also told me later the jokes were something called "limericks"—which, he quipped, was "an edible oil product." He was someone who simply refused to suffer life's arrows, including, I'm sure, the cancer that crept up just a few months ago. It was a quality that made him the quintessential Ottawa smoother and, later, allowed him to transform the energy office in a modest but for reaching way.

People forget now, but he became a polarizing figure in 1990 amid a storm of criticism. It was said he was a political enemy of Brian Mulroney, an anti-semitic defector from the 1986 free trade election, and could barely speak French. Some officials wrote that he lacked the ability to inspire, to be "the personification of Canada." That would not prove true.

One of Hnatyshyn's first initiatives was to invite 400 neighbours of Rideau Hall around for a coffee lunch. Then he opened the gates of the GG's expansive estate, closed by a predecessor, to dog walkers and bicycle riders like himself. Then he launched himself on a tour of the country, humbled by banter, that was as raucous as it was cautious. The current incumbent, the part-time Adrienne Clarkson, may well exceed Hnatyshyn's personableness, but in terms of getting around the country, and off the ceremonial stage to where people actually lived, he started that ball rolling.

Forget the high office and Hnatyshyn's career was still a potent symbol of immigrant arrival. His father came from Ukraine to become a lawyer, as did Ray and his two brothers. But for him the greater achievement had to be more than just surviving Ottawa politics as particularly better paid, but asking some of the trickiest one of it with wit, where, yes, and a touch of genuine frustration. It was inspiring Canadian story. **RONALD BARRON**

Hnatyshyn's career as a federal politician, cabinet minister and governor general was a potent symbol of immigrant arrival—truly an inspiring Canadian story

# Together, we can do it.



## Pssst...

If there was something easy and convenient that you could do to save money, reduce wear and tear on your vehicle, and help protect the environment, would you do it?

Want to learn how?

IT'S AS EASY  
AS TURNING  
A KEY –  
STOP IDLING.



Unnecessarily idling your vehicle for more than 10 seconds wastes fuel and damages the environment. It costs Canadians millions of dollars every year, pollutes the air we breathe and contributes to climate change.

### Who's idling, and when?

In 1998, a study by Natural Resources Canada's Office of Energy Efficiency revealed that idlers are more likely to come from large households with children, and those who are least likely to idle tend to be served and live in urban areas.

Canadian motorists idle their vehicles between five to ten minutes per day. Most of us voluntarily idle in drive-through lanes of fast-food restaurants, while waiting for or putting up someone, when stopping to speak with an acquaintance, and while running errands.

### Why does most idling occur?

The most common excuse for idling is to warm up our vehicles. It's a common misconception that cars need to be warmed up for long periods before driving. That might explain why we idle 60 percent longer in winter than in summer. In fact, in most cases idling for more than 30 seconds, even in cold weather, does no good for your vehicle's performance or the environment.

When temperatures fall below 0°C, use a block heater two hours before driving. It will warm the coolant, the engine block and lubricants, so the engine can reach its peak temperature more quickly. At -20°C, using a block heater can reduce your fuel consumption by as much as 10 percent.

In winter, your vehicle can use as much as 50 percent more fuel than in summer. That's because a cold engine burns fuel less efficiently, and a cold drivetrain is stiff and creates more friction. It also takes longer for the catalytic converter, which cleans pollutants from your vehicle's exhaust, to reach operating temperatures of 400°C to 800°C. But idling is not an effective way to heat your vehicle's components, including wheel bearings, the steering mechanism, the suspension, the transmission and the tires. A better way to warm up your car is to drive it.

## Test Your Idling IQ

- 1 It is essential to drive without first warming up my vehicle's engine.  
☐ True ☐ False
- 2 Turning off and restarting my vehicle repeatedly is bad on the engine and wastes fuel.  
☐ True ☐ False
- 3 Idling is good for my car's engine.  
☐ True ☐ False

### How does idling affect you and your community?

You have seen how idling can affect you—wasting gas, money, fuel, and increasing your maintenance costs. Not to mention that leaving an idling car unattended makes it extremely vulnerable to theft.

But what does it do to the environment? Burning fossil fuels creates emissions, including carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), the most common greenhouse gas. Transport is one of the single largest end-use sources of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in Canada. In fact, the average car produces three times as much CO<sub>2</sub> every year.

Scientists believe that the excessive quantities of greenhouse gases produced by human activities like driving are contributing to climate change, as well.

as more greenhouse effects like smog and acid rain.

If you've ever found yourself halting your breath while passing traffic on a busy street, or drinking air to breathe because there's a smog alert in effect, you understand how idling can affect your health, and the health of your community. Health Canada estimates that 5,000 Canadians are dying prematurely because of air pollution. Children, elderly people and those with respiratory problems like asthma are most likely to be affected by poor air quality.

### The benefits of not idling

You may be surprised at how much money you can save on fuel by not idling. Idling for 10 minutes a day costs an average of 80 litres of gas per year—or 70 cents per litre, that's about \$56 per year. And there's less wear and tear on your vehicle's engine, spark plugs and exhaust system, so you also save money on maintenance.

Believe it or not, if all Canadians stopped idling their vehicles for just five minutes, we could help prevent more than 4,500 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> from entering the atmosphere, and save 1.9 million litres of fuel and more than \$1.3 million in fuel costs every day.

### Join the idle-free

When you lock the idling habit, you're taking the first step in helping your community become idle-free. Once you know the benefits of not idling, you may find yourself spreading the word and making a difference, one person at a time.

If you want to start your own anti-idling campaign, visit the "Idle-Free Zone" on-line at [www.idle-free.org](http://www.idle-free.org). The Anti-Idling Tool Kit on this site is a valuable resource. You can download graphic images, games and quizzes, flip charts, posters and car magnets and adapt them to your very own campaign. In addition, there's lots of information about

### Answers to test your idling IQ

- 1 False. In most cases, you only need to let your engine sit for 30 seconds before you start to drive, even in winter. Driving is the quickest way to bring your engine to its peak operating temperature.
- 2 False. In fact, idling for just 10 seconds can start fuel consumption. The engine had to warm up to start, so you're actually not saving money on a few dollars per year. In most cases, the money you save on fuel will more than cover this cost.
- 3 False. Excessive idling can actually damage your vehicle's engine, even including cylinder, spark plugs and the exhaust system.



idling issues. The Zone newsletter, even electronic postcards—everything you need to get your school, workplace or community group involved.

This intensive booklet upon the Government of Canada's commitment to ensuring a clean, healthy environment and promoting our natural spaces, which are essential elements of our quality of life.

### You can make a difference!

### YOUR FIVE-STEP PERSONAL ANTI-IDLING CAMPAIGN

- 1 **STEP 1** Reduce warming idling. In most cases idling for more than 30 seconds is unnecessary. Avoid high speeds and rapid accelerations for the first five kilometers, so that the moving parts of your vehicle can warm up.
- 2 **STEP 2** Turn your engine off if you will be stopped for more than 30 seconds, except if you're in traffic.
- 3 **STEP 3** Avoid parking in warm sun or shade. Always use engine covers if you can to keep your car cool.
- 4 **STEP 4** In temperatures below 0°C, use a block heater with an automatic timer to warm the engine two hours before you start it.
- 5 **STEP 5** Spread the word! Tell your family and friends about the benefits of not idling, so they can save money and help protect the environment.

For more information on vehicles, climate change and fuel efficiency, contact Natural Resources Canada's Office of Energy Efficiency at [www.nrcc.nrcan.gc.ca/vehicles/nrcan](http://www.nrcc.nrcan.gc.ca/vehicles/nrcan) or call 1 800 387-2000.





# WHY SO CRANKY?

The economy, the stock market, the terrorist threat. So much is looking better than last year. So why, asks JONATHAN GATEHOUSE, aren't we celebrating?

BY ANY OBJECTIVE standard, Canadians have a lot to be thankful for this holiday season. The political circus, natural disasters, warfare and terror that blight other nations are largely unknown here. Our economy is humming along. Interest rates remain at almost historic lows. Child poverty is finally falling. The CFL is healthy. We won hockey gold. No one has mentioned the communion in years.

The question that comes to mind then is why we so many of us aren't always so glad? Pessimism *Amigos*, Frustrated. Positively *wellbeing*. The 19th annual Maclean's year-end survey of public opinion offers a snapshot of a country that's not at all happy about the way things are going. And a picture of an electorate that is getting awfully tired of governments that don't listen to us complaints. "I'm almost ashamed to be a Canadian at this point," says Neil Baker of Bright, Ont., one of 1,600 respondents to the national telephone poll, conducted by the Strategic Counsel between Nov. 1 and 12. "Our governments—provincial and federal—are out of control. Health care and education are big issues. There's loss of security. We're not getting any leadership. The country is in a mess as far as politics goes."

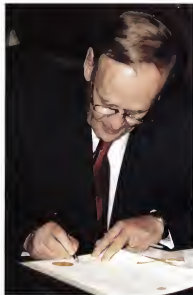
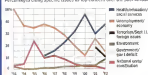
It's a common sentiment: The percentage of Canadians who say they're more optimistic about the future than they were a decade ago is at its lowest point ever in this year-end poll. But why? Unlike past years, when declining confidence was clearly tied to worries about recession or events like the Sept. 11 attacks, the underpinnings for our growing disenchantment seem more diverse and harder to explain. We're feeling down right negative about the business community and openly questioning the rationale and ethics of our corporate moguls after a year of watching Enron and WorldCom execu-

tives being led away in handcuffs. Still, despite the stock market plunge that accompanied the stock slide, most of us say our personal financial situation has either stayed the same or improved. And only 29 per cent of Canadians are fearful that the bottom is about to drop out of our economy—about half the number last year.

Our worries that this country will become the target of a terrorist attack also appear to be diminishing as the distance between us and the collapse of the World Trade Center grows. But the aftershocks of that Sept. 11 are still evident in only slightly less support

## WANDERING WORRIES

Percentages citing specific issues as top concerns over the past decade



dislike last year for domestic squabbles against refugees and immigrants. 60 per cent would put refugee claimants arriving "without valid ID" on the next plane back to where they came from, 51 per cent favour locking up refugee claimants in "secure locations" until their cases are heard, 44 per cent would restrict our intake of Muslim immigrants.

We are bitter about the proposed next step in the American-led war on terror. Despite months of ash-rain-falling by the Bush administration, Canadians remain unconvinced that Saddam Hussein poses a threat to world peace and needs to be removed.

Chrétien signed on to the Kyoto accord as Canadians grew impatient for his departure.

Fifty-one per cent of those polled say there is insufficient justification for an invasion of Iraq. And even if the United Nations gives the go-ahead, fewer than three in 10 want to see Canada get actively involved in military campaigns. In fact, the looming prospect of war in the Middle East barely registers on our list of important issues of the day.

The heavy aphorism "all politics is local" has guided many an elected cleric. And when it comes to the issues that concern

## MIXED MESSAGE TO THE PM

Approve of Jean Chrétien's performance in dealing with the threat of terrorism in the past year

Think Chrétien should step down as Prime Minister before his announced departure date of February 2004

96% 50%

## THE LEGACY AGENDA

Pre-empting pressing these federal government: Spending a number are very important: Improving the health-care system

Alleviating child poverty 55 Improving living conditions for Aboriginal Canadians 15 Upgrading services and infrastructure in major cities 12

Canadians, people are definitely paying the home front first. For the fourth year running, the No. 1 preoccupation in the nation is the frayed state of the health-care system—26 per cent cite medicine or hospital doctors as the issues that concern them most. By comparison, the next highest response to the economy and jobs is 14 per cent. The third-ranking answer was (don't know) response—citing the depressing possibility that this one in 50 Canadians is unable to identify even a single issue facing the country. Foreign issues, terrorism, government spending and crime are all way down the list of priority policy areas for Canadians.

The dominance of health care concerns isn't that surprising given the recent run of studies, reports and inquiries that have attempted to diagnose the ills of medicine. And although many of us seem to agree that fixing the problem should be government priority, opinion isn't unified, and sometimes are contradictory, on just how that goal should be accomplished. Fifty-nine per cent of those surveyed say they would like to see Ottawa spend more on health, yet 70 per cent say the biggest concern right now is that the system wastes money and is poorly administered. Fifty-two per cent agree with

Roy Romanow's recommendation that medicine be expanded to cover some prescription drugs and home-care services, yet almost exactly as many are unwilling to pay higher taxes to fund such initiatives.

Sherron Reid, a community college teacher and electrologist in New Windsor, N.S., says the toll takes a lot of fit in the health-care system despite decades of cuts and service reductions. "What bothers me is that somewhere along the line the money isn't being managed properly," she says. "In the hospitals around here, a lot of stuff get paid for snow or sick days and they take them, whether they need it or not." At the same time, Reid believes the Canadian public must take its share of the blame for the overfilling emergency rooms and doctors' offices. "People I know, if their child has a runny nose, they're rushing them to Emergency. You can wait to get some of Mom's chicken soup and wait to get better," she says. "The system is being run for fear, and the government is wasting all this money on Band-Aids instead of getting to the root of the problem."

Dr. John Miller, vice president of research and population health at the Canadian Institute for Health Information—an at-seventy-length federal organization that provides Ottawa and the provinces with data on how the system is working—says people are now in denial that the money isn't the only answer to the problem. Much can be done to reform health care, he says. "It's not as much fit in the system as a matter of mismanagement, and the delivery of inappropriate services." He notes problems like the chronic over-consumption of antibiotics, or a recent study in British Columbia that found that 25 per cent of patients receiving elective surgery didn't really need it.

Miller says he sees "elements of a consensus" building across Canada on how to improve the system—better public health programs, more doctors and nurses, increased access to home care. But he warns that the window of opportunity to fix the medicine is closing. "All the polls show that the public is totally fed up with the lack and fourth between the provinces and Ottawa. People want results."

Part of the challenge of governing in a low was being trying to strike a balance between priorities and expectations. The public may pay less for lower taxes but they also want someone to pick up their garbage, to make sure



Martin, Reid, McMillan and Romanow—who is going to have the vision, and take the concrete steps to address health care, corporate greed and a growing loss of faith in government?

the surplus are safe, and to teach their children. The growing problem in Canada appears to be a disconnect between what people want and what government is willing, or able, to deliver. For example, last October's Speech from the Throne focused on ambitious new policy initiatives to cut Jean Charest's first months in office—no provision of the Kyoto accord, new programs to help ones and ease child poverty, a full-scale effort to improve the living conditions of Aboriginal Canadians.

For the most part, the public thinks that the country is doing well—though only 52 per cent of respondents rate helping nation as important and almost two-thirds would add a beaked up rally to Christmas list of priorities. But when it comes down to the area where people most want to see Ottawa ac-

tively increase its spending, the military and our big cities barely rank. Again and again, it seems, voters are delivering the message that health care is their overriding concern.

John Duffy, a Toronto-based author, lobbyist and political strategist, sees a "new crisis of legitimacy" in the political system. "A lot of people have stopped believing that government is going to produce change in the areas they care about," he says. "The frustration is mounting." It's a deep-seated cynicism that appears to be spreading. People, especially the young, are turning out of all forms of public life. The news media set a declining number of viewers and readers. Pollsters encounter more in the increasing difficulty they have getting people to answer their questions—the overall response rate for this survey was 38 per cent, about



## DIMINISHING FEARS

Percentage considering the likelihood of Canada becoming a terrorist target in ...



## CRACKS IN A HARD LINE

Percentage in support of ...



Keeping all refugee claimants in secure locations with no contact with Canadian society until their cases have been heard



Restricting the number of immigrants from Muslim countries



## THE MONEY'S THERE, USE IT WISELY

Problems exist in the health-care system because it is badly managed and

Medicare should pay for almost all of an individual's health-care needs



Expanded Medicare to cover drugs and home care



## 'NO' TO HIGHER TAX AND DEFICITS

Percentage saying mostly for new government initiatives should come from reducing spending on other priorities



The budgetary surplus



## THE ALBERTA WAY

Percentage saying ... Alberta



Air quality is the greatest environmental concern



There is enough evidence to conclude there is global warming



Human actions are leading to a build-up of greenhouse gases causing global warming



The Kyoto accord would have a negative effect on the economy



The Kyoto accord would have a positive effect on the environment



Canada should ratify the Kyoto Accord even if the U.S. doesn't



The federal government should negotiate with the provinces before setting Kyoto



Medicare should pay for almost all of an individual's health-care needs



Canadians and Americans are the same



John Christian should step down as Prime Minister before his planned departure date of February 2004



standards for the industry, meaning that it took 5,000 calls to find the 1,400 respondents.

Duffy says people have to go back to the dark days of the late 1970s to find a comparable crisis of public faith, although the persistent fear in Canada (the threat of nuclear war and economic stagnation) were arguably much bigger than those being, as now. The message he delivers to his clients and the people he advises for free, like Paul Martin, is that talk is no longer enough. "We are in a race, says Duffy, but what Canadians really want is to be seen as meeting the public expectations. I can't stress it enough. Actually that's what it is."

But what happens when public expectations differ from reality or neglect? Take the environment, for example. Overall, it isn't as pressing a concern for Canadians—just three per cent say Kyoto is the biggest issue facing the country. Although most of us believe the climate is getting warmer and that it's our own fault, we're not particularly alarmed, nor are we enthralled about the idea of paying more for our cars or other factors of goods to help finance efforts to reduce the harm. It's interesting, too, that those who are concerned about the precarious state of our natural world "We've got a very tough row to hoe in a very competitive society where there are lots of issues before the government and the public," says John Bernier, director of atmosphere and energy for the Sierra Club of Canada. "People just assume that elected officials are taking care of the environment and don't pay a lot of attention until something happens in their own neighbourhood."

But efforts to reduce greenhouse gases through Kyoto are a mammoth proposition in one part of the country—Alberta, where the issue surfaces even heads care (21 per cent versus 12 per cent). People in that province are skeptical about the science behind the accord and deeply worried about the economic fallout from efforts to limit greenhouse gases. Dave Friesen, herd manager for a cattle ranching operation in High Level, Alta., doesn't mind voters when asked what's happening to the climate. "We read books that say there are to be polar bears in northern Alberta in ten years ago, so it must have warmed up after that. What caused it then?" says Friesen. "Besides, I don't worry too much. It's 60 and 70 degrees I'll be in the ground in another 10 years or so, and since it's colder than bus-



tard up there, I wouldn't mind the change."

Now for a moment imagine you are Paul Harris and posed to become prime minister. Unlike most Liberals, you enjoy considerable popularity in Alberta. So there is an issue like Kyoto where most of the country supports something (even if it's too high on the priority list) and one province hates it with a passion. How do you square that with the new political reality where voters are looking for politicians who will listen to their concerns? The former finance minister's solution was to abstain from the notification vote after making several seemingly contradictory statements on the issue. See also Anne McLellan's shrewd efforts to distance herself from the gun registry debate.

Now, if you are from the West, you're probably not going to like this next section. But Alberta is the new Quebec, when it comes to this poll at least. Traditionally, residents of its belly province have stood apart from the rest of the country on issues of social policy, U.S.-Canada relations, national unity and practically everything else. In the past couple of years, however, such isolation has been against movements cooking up in the wake of Sept. 11, Quebec and the rest of Canada have seemed remarkably in sync. Now it's Albertans who are now stepping to a different beat. And it's not just on matters that could affect the oil and gas industry. Ask the rest of the country if Americans and Canadians are increasingly the same and 41 per cent agree. Ask Albertans and the number rises to 50 per cent. People in Alberta are less likely than the national average to agree with the idea of legal recognition for gay marriage, or adoption rights for gay couples. They are significantly more opposed to Jean Chrétien's expatriation before his announced February 2004 departure date, and more opposed that somebody other than the Liberals will be running the show after the next election.

Roger Gibbons, president and CEO of the Canada West Foundation, a Calgary-based think tank, says the gap between Albertans and the rest of the country is more manufactured than real. He says differences of opinion seem exaggerated because of the poor state of relations between the provincial and federal governments. "Alberta has become a shorthand for a set of values," says Gibbons, adding that the province is not that out of step with B.C. or Saskatchewan on most issues. As an example, he cites re-



## SEX AND THE SINGLE CANADIAN

Percentage saying they first had sex before the age of 20

<b>Most likely</b>	
Quebecers	69
Men	66
<b>Least likely</b>	
Saskatchewanians and Manitobans	45
Optimistic adult women	50
Saying they were unmarried at the time	
<b>Most likely</b>	
Quebecers and men	82
<b>Least likely</b>	
Saskatchewanians and Manitobans	60
Women	56
<b>Describing themselves as sexually active</b>	
<b>Most likely</b>	
Quebecers	78
Men	76
Healthcare leaders	71
<b>Least likely</b>	
Women	57
Ontarians	54
British Columbians, Saskatchewanians and Manitobans	52

cent comments by Allan Rock, Manning Ralph Klein, and by extension his constituents, for the ballooning cost of the federal gun registry. "A national register that doesn't send to break down along provincial lines, but that's what people are being told 'When Albertans are consistently being told how different they are, it becomes almost a self-fulfilling prophecy," says Gibbons.

To be fair, there are other splits in the country beyond the East-West one that we spend so much of our time discussing. Socially conservative issues often break down along urban-rural lines. In this poll, for example, support for gay marriage and gay adoption rights was higher in towns and cities (57 per cent in favour versus 43 and 42 per cent again, respectively).

Finally, the answer to the question that has plagued 1,400 people across the country for the last six weeks is, yes, Martin's really

does want to know about your sex life. First of all, it should be pointed out that many of you are what is politely known as "unreliable interviewers." Only three per cent of respondents would admit that they or their partner had ever used Viagra. But according to IMS Health, a company that tracks the sale of pharmaceuticals across Canada, there have been more than three million Viagra prescriptions filled since the drug was approved for domestic sale in March 1998. These are approximately 31 million Canadians, just under 50 per cent of them are men. You do the math. Keeping that discrepancy in mind, 42 per cent say they first had sexual intercourse between the age of 16 and 19 (though people in Saskatchewan and Manitoba seem to have had more control over their hormones, generally holding out longer). Seventy-four per cent say they were single when they lost their virginity.

The real shocker, however, comes in the second category of frequency. Throughout the history of our year-end poll, now foundational, perhaps among the most splendid qualities of *Life* magazine's *Sexiest Man and Best Porn*, have reported themselves to be the most active lovers in Confederation. But in a stunning reversal, it's now Quebecers who are Masters of the Mattresses, with almost 75 per cent of respondents in that province claiming they have an active sex life (well ahead of Newfoundland's 64 per cent). Jonny Vegh, a Montrealer who writes the sex advice column *My Sexy Bedroom* and hosts a television show of the same name, says she isn't surprised that Quebecers have risen to the challenge. "I definitely think there is more of a sexual vibe in Montreal than, say, Toronto," she says. "There is no pride in having more of European attitude about the body and life in general. People here work to live, not live to work."

For their part, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are professing shock and amazement at their collective loss of mojo. "Frequency isn't the issue, it's the quality of the experience," screams O'Riages, host of CTV's Canada AM and a St. John's bon vivant, superlatively. But true to the can-do spirit in that characterizes the Rock, there is already talk of mounting a comeback. "We'll embrace the project and regain our rightful crown," says O'Riages. "And I, like one, am ready to go back and do my part."

by Andrew GIBSON and

SAMSUNG



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# CROOKS IN THE BOARDROOM

Canadians have lost confidence in business leaders, and see their lack of ethics behind the past year's stock-market collapse, says **KATHERINE MACKLEM**

**AT AN ANNUAL GATHERING** of CEOs at New York's exclusive St. Regis Hotel a few months ago, the executives grappled with the crisis of confidence gripping the business community. As they complained about their fall from grace—they felt hurt, they said—and debated strategies to get out from under the dark cloud that has descended on them, the meeting turned into a massive group therapy session for men with afflictions they don't respond any more. "Cyrus Fadiolahi, chief executive of Chiquita Brands International Inc., told a reporter: "I have cried any more."

Cue the victims. The crowd goes down. They've lost that imperious status, where every opinion was treated as a gem, every ridiculous whim as reasonable. "From horses to goats," proclaimed a speaker near the often-famous former magazine. The trouble has been rapid, and steep. Just look at John Roth, chief executive of Barron's, Ont.-based National News Corp. from 1997 to 2001. In 2000, as the stock price of the company he led shot through \$124, he was an adviser to both the Ontario and federal governments on industry issues, reportedly calling for lower taxes and compelling of the main drain. He was the recipient of countless honours, degrees and industry awards. And every time he opened his mouth, his mug was on the front pages of business sections across the country. Today, not only has Roth disappeared from the scene, after resigning in disgrace from Norel (share price now \$3), his name is mud. As he put

The bosses haven't merely become the burn—they've taken on the status of villains. And Canadians are incensed. The



Macklem's Global TV year-end poll asked respondents what caused the stock market to drop a whopping 25 per cent in 2002. They had a variety of choices—uncertainty surrounding the cause of terrorism and war with Iraq, the U.S. economic slowdown and the drop in corporate profits all figured on the list for four reasons. But the main target of blame? The top dogs. Markets had dried

up, the largest number of respondents said, because of a loss of confidence in the honesty and integrity of these business leaders. Canadians are focused on business ethics—or the lack thereof. No less than 45 per cent view the business world as a more negative light than they did just a year ago. (Roughly half say their views haven't changed, while a contrarian seven per cent actually look

upon business leaders more positively.) Among those feeling more negative, the ethics and morality issue is the reason most often—46 per cent say that's what caused their angst. Older and richer people are most likely to wag their fingers, with solid majorities of critics in the 60-to-64 age group and in households earning \$100,000 plus. It gets worse. The corporate and economic scandals of the past year aren't just limited to few bad apples, according to poll respondents. Rather, the problem is widespread—executives are taking advantage of systems that are failing, say an astounding two out of three respondents. Pollster Allan Gregg, who conducted the study for Macklem, says he was surprised to see such a critical response. "Between-wallow support for business was. When Canadians see this as a systemic problem, that puts a burden of proof on the private sector," says Gregg. "And business now has to show it isn't rotten."

Even John Crago is appalled at corporate behaviour. The still-convicted retired University of Toronto professor and once-son-of-a-bank defender of the right bargained his fire on the podium last month in a debate at the university over corporate governance. A lot of business trends bug him. The level of executive compensation. Boards of directors acting as "just a little club." Stock options. Golden parachutes. "What are the goals leading corporations doing?" Crago asked. "I don't want them anymore. They are as far from the truth as you can't see their tails." The business world, Crago concludes, needs to be reeled in with tighter regulations and stiffer penalties. "The excesses of the last few years are so obvious," he says, "that if we don't do something to check it, we could jeopardize the whole damn thing."

Part of what bothers Crago so much is that he fought all his working life for corporate freedom. And now he sees executive in control, waiting the sidelines. From 1970 to 1999, the average annual salary in the U.S. rose roughly 16 per cent to US\$135,864, says Paul Krugman, a professor at Princeton University. At the same time, the average pay package of Fortune magazine's top 100 CEOs was up an astonishing 2,785 per cent, to US\$375 million. "There is no noticeable bad ethics and greed," says Crago. "I believe in the pursuit of self-interest, but look at what they do to our mind."

It's no surprise that the business world as we've seen it during the '90s has provoked

## IS THERE A SPIN DOCTOR IN THE HOUSE?

Percentage saying that, over the past year, their views regarding the business community have become:



## POINTING THE FINGER AT THE BOSS

Percentage saying the main cause of the drop in the value of Canadian shares in 2002 is:



## SWITCH YOUR FOCUS, BOSS

Percentage saying the prime role of a company CEO should be ...



out, says Gregg. Seduced by the triumph of globalization and the frothy equities, Crago then turned to business leaders after giving up on politicians. The belief in big business "never had a rest as any busy-chad five-entrepreneur," says Gregg. Now, with the markets in the dumps, major corporations under investigation and CEOs south of the border during the pay walk, "people believe that not only are big business not as efficient as we're bragging about, but they're thought they were, but they're venal too."

The changing views leave Canadians a little in the lurch. They've given up on politicians. "Business leaders" has become an option. So where's the go to figure? As the

point, whether. In the Canadian imagination, no one has stepped into the leadership breach—contributing to the souring of the public mood and to what Gregg calls "a useless prosperity." While they recognize that things are pretty good in the economy—only 29 per cent anticipate a recession, by far the lowest since we started asking that question in 1980—Canadians are nonetheless more pessimistic about what they've been since 1995. A prime reason, says Gregg: "Canadians really don't think there's anyone out there they can rely on anymore. Is that there is a sense of vulnerability?"

In retrospect, it was naive—perhaps even foolhardy—to have looked to the business world to provide leadership on social and political issues. But for a while there, its leaders were calling the shots. And as ever more Canadians decided to play the money game—either conservatively with an advisor or buying mutual funds or by setting up a RIF online account—they were means of the same money, too. For a while. Talkingly, the intricate of the stock market flourished and personal portfolios thrived. Still, it was a thing to lose money because of an economic downturn. It's another to suspect corruption is the root cause.

John Markey, finance minister and would-be prime minister, wants to see business confidence back on track. "This has not been a banner year when it comes to market integrity," makes recent understatements to the Ontario Chamber of Commerce. "Large and small investors," he added, "are rightly, have grown wary." He's thinking about stricter rules, tougher penalties and ways to settle securities-related claims. He has wondered aloud whether Canada should have a specialized court for white-collar crime. Given how complex and how easily hidden corporate and securities offences can be, it's a wonder there isn't one already. Markey was clear in one point, though: corporate crime should result in punishment that provides "a real deterrent—not a slap on the wrist."

As well, make that unethical, unethical business types will go to hell—eventually—and that may provide some satisfaction to Canadians who feel duped. The rest of the case set, based on good will, will surely go back to their corner offices and do what they've always done: make pots of money. **M**

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## STRAINS ACROSS THE BORDER

ALLAN R. GREGG tracks a profound cooling of feelings toward the Americans since last year's poll, taken just after the shattering events of Sept. 11

**THE ACCEPTED WISDOM** following the Sept. 11 terrorist attack was that Canadians would forge a much closer bond with Americans. Out of the twin legacies of empathy and threat, we would see our common interests aligned and our destiny linked with in the horizons of our shared continent.

What a difference a year can make. Our 2002 year-end poll indicates that, far from drawing closer together, Canadians are embracing a growing desire to chart a distinct path, independent of our neighbours to the south. Over the past year, we have seen the number of Canadians who describe the United States as "friendly" or "best friends" shrink by a third—to only one in five—as the vast majority have come to characterize our relationship as either "friends, but not especially close" or "cordial but distant." Similarly, since we last asked this question in 1999, the percentage who believe we are "morally" or "essentially" different from Americans has grown to a significant majority of 57 per cent.

Why also see a solid sentiment that the United States is acting like a bully and a majority who fear that "we are losing our independence to the United States"? In policy terms, these underlying beliefs have created a population that is unconcerned that Iraq warrants attack, that has serious misgivings about supporting our allies in any assault on Saddam Hussein done outside the sanction of the United Nations, and that is unperturbed to follow the U.S. lead in inspecting the Kyoto accord.

While these findings may fly in the face of expectations, there were signals, even in the immediate aftermath of Sept. 11, that Canadians were not going to be marching in lockstep with the Americans into the War

on Terror. A year ago, with the image of jumbo jets being snatched up the twin towers of the World Trade Center still fresh in our minds, the 2001 Maclean's poll nonetheless found a majority of Canadians accepting the Middle Easterned legitimacy of American action in its treatment of the West. And while any discussion of "root causes" of the attack was treated as borderline treason in America, overwhelming numbers of Canadians reported their willingness to allow those who opposed the war in Afghanistan to "speak out." Finally, it was clear that Canadians were not seduced by the considerable efforts to demonize Osama bin Laden and, instead, felt the threat went well beyond any individual or his potential demise.

"These" does, however, seem found among other sentiments that agitate a population that had not only been traumatised by the assault on North American territory, but was also signalling its willingness to accept measures that seemed out of character according to attitudes we had ascribed in the 17 previous year-end polls. Where we had shown a progressive tendency toward individualism throughout the 1990s, the post-Sept. 11 period saw a majority of Canadians willing to curtail individual freedoms in support of the federal government's anti-terrorism legislation. They felt that way even

as they acknowledged that the authorities might abuse those powers and apply them to non-terrorist activity.

Even more surprisingly, for the first time in two decades a majority of the electorate supported increased military spending, as well as active engagement in the attack on Afghanistan. Together, it appeared that while we resisted all the rhetoric trumpeting the War on Terror, we had become galvanised by both the magnitude of the threat and our duty to support our aggrieved American allies.

Because that analysis made common sense last year, and was subsequently buttressed by the behaviour of virtually all our political and media elites, few were able to detect (or perhaps felt no compulsion to look for) the subtle but important evolution in our outlook taking place over the course of the past year. When Bill Blair, the barely United Church minister and NDP leadership aspirant, called for increased funding for our armed forces in September, that should have given us a hint that something was afoot. Coming from a leading member of the party of pacifism, those exhortations were not the mere spang of a naive militaristic posture on the part of Canadian bus-fundamentalist shift in the nature of Canadian nationalism and its strands toward outside the world.

Over the past year, the public opinion agenda has grown more multi-layered and less focused. In a nutshell, Canadians see more complex problems and fewer simple solutions. Even as the economy functions well, they are experiencing a jolt in prosperity. A clear as money report on improving their financial situation is in any way



in the past seven, and only half as many think we're going into a recession compared to last year. Yet levels of optimism, far from reviving, have actually declined since last year's post-Sept. 11 poll.

Protesters over levels of taxation and government had briefly filled all the public opinion agenda by the end of 2001. A year later, there is evidence of an uptick in anxiety over a prospective "tax and spend" renaissance government. Concern about social issues—overwhelmingly health care—which had come to dominate Canadian attention at the end of the millennium visibly

fell following the terrorist attack. Now they are rising again, reflecting a growing view that, with our preoccupation elsewhere, Canada's social safety net continues to erode. Top-of-mind concerns of the environment remain a source of concern as higher than at any time in the past decade. And while a may seem less immediate, Sept. 11 lent itself to stark—a majority continue to believe that attacks on our own soil are at least "somewhat likely."

In the minds of Canadians, our nation—the world—have clearly become more complicated, problem-filled and threatening in the past 15 months than again perhaps

lying in the face of expectations, Canadians have not responded with timorousness or retreat from these problems. Nor have we rushed to find refuge in the bosom of America. To the contrary, Canadians seem to accept the permanence of these new realities and are demonstrating a willingness to confront them in a uniquely Canadian way.

For the first time I can ever recall, this new nationalism is calling for Canada to play a larger role in the world. In the past, Canadian nationalism tended to manifest itself in a desire to protect ourselves from the vagaries of the outside world. The new na-

business are declining, we engage them. Historically, one of the hallmarks of Canadian culture has been our modesty. Not only do we feel we had little impact on the world, we came to believe the world had little impact on us. We did not recognize to be a colony or economic power in global affairs. The grudging acceptance of North American trade and the prosperity that ensued on the heels of globalization began to change that outlook. But even then, we viewed the world outside our borders primarily as a market—a place to buy and sell things.

Last year, Canadians told us that the single greatest change in their lives since Sept. 11 was that they were consuming more news. We know that is true, but, for us, experience in day-to-day cross-nationality with friends, neighbours and casual acquaintances. This learning has been driven by more than mere curiosity. It has become a tool—a means of understanding and coping with an uncertain and a threatening world. We have now come to relate to the world not merely in commercial terms but as a place that can hurt us, that has profound needs and that we must take some responsibility for.

## COOLING FRIENDSHIP

Percentage describing Canada's relations with the United States as:

Like family/like friends

2001 30

2002 22

Feels like our marriage/close

2001 47

2002 45

Good but distant/only friendly

2001 19

2002 28

What is more, this new nationalism seems to rest on a different way of defining ourselves vis-à-vis the Americans. We have tended, of course, to see ourselves in terms of what they were not—where Americans were war, we were peace; where Americans were war, we could lay claim to pacifism, if they were intolerant, we would be tolerant, if they were uncharitable, we could maintain that we are our brother's keeper. But now, the image we see of Canada is not only different from our own, it is increasingly our own. And that sense of unique me is more than

## IN THE GIANT'S SHADOW

Percentage agreeing that:

The U.S. government is acting like a bully with the rest of the world

2001 37

2002 45

I am concerned we are losing our national voice from the U.S.

2001 37

As the world's sole superpower, the U.S. has the responsibility to act as a force for other nations in the interests of global security

2001 45

We don't need to spend much money on armed forces when we have the United States next door

2001 45

a defining reflex to ward off the creeping influence of American hegemony on Canadian culture and institutions.

Our "need" to be distinct from the United States today is not based on our fixation with our proximity to the Americans, but on our understanding that their view of the world is increasingly different from ours. A stronger Canadian and, therefore, the current necessity. That notion can become a more muscular world power, but to give us the latitude to make our own decisions, without the need for a mandatory tap on our ego by our neighbours. Our refusal to conform to what may be viewed as U.S. unilateralism first in voice not in force, puts us at a disadvantage, but in a sense that we have the intellectual and knowledge to make our own decisions.

Sept. 11 did not change Canadians' basic character. On the contrary, new values reinforced us. Our country's unique culture reminded us of our unique heritage, while an historic time opened our eyes to a world we barely knew. Most importantly, it has reinforced us with the true sense of who we are. We are North Americans, in time and temperament. But our values are uniquely our own. Our readiness to embrace diversity, at home and around the globe, makes us distinct from other inhabitants of our continent. In fact, part of the expression of a historic nationalism in the epiphany that the movies we watch and the hangovers we get are not what define us as a nation. Our values do. And as our horizons have broadened, we have gained a renewed confidence and the courage to face our responsibilities as a changing world, as our own terms. **F**

Alisa R. Sneggs is chairman of the Toronto-based consulting firm The Strategic Counsel, which conducted the year-end poll for *Maclean's* and *Globe and Mail*.

## COVER | THE YEAR-END POLL

**Methodology** | The 11th annual *Maclean's* year-end poll, prepared in partnership with Global Television and the managers of *Canwest Publications*, was conducted between Nov. 1 and 12 by Stratus Global The Strategic Counsel. It is drawn from telephone interviews with 1,000 Canadians and adults, conducted randomly at all 11 provinces. The sample of population does not perfectly mirror the same degree of accuracy as the random, national results, adjusted to take into account a disproportionately number of interviews in the smaller provinces, are considered accurate to within 3.1 percentage points 15 times out of 20. Numbers have been rounded off and, in most cases, "don't know" and no-answer responses are not shown.

Figures represent percentage of respondents

### GENERAL ATTITUDES

What is the most important issue facing Canada today?

Health care/education/

social services 77

Environment/economy

24

Unemployment

24

Government's deficit

7

Foreign affairs

11

Crime/violence

3

John Diefenbaker/Canadian flag

17

Other issues

17

Are you more optimistic or more pessimistic about the future this decade open?

More optimistic 26

More pessimistic 42

How do you feel about the past year, has your personal financial situation gotten better or worse?

Better 33

Worse 33

Worse 33

Worse 33

Worse 33

Worse 33

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### CORPORATE GOVERNANCE

In the past year, have your views of the business community become more positive or negative?

More positive 7

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

More negative 48

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### GLOBAL WARMING

Do you think global warming is occurring, is there enough evidence to conclude whether global warming is occurring?

Enough evidence 4

Not enough evidence 4

Not enough evidence 4

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### Which of these points of view do you accept?

Without American participation, the Kyoto accord is meaningless

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stable Jewish population. Last Friday, then-Lt. stepped down as leader of the Republican U.S. Senate following weeks of controversy over his praise for retiring Senator Strom Thurmond, who once ran for president on a segregationist ticket. Lett, a Mississippi politician who has a long history of renegade positions on racial issues—fervently against Martin Luther King Day—suggested “we wouldn’t have had all these problems over the years” if more people had voted for Thurmond.

The thing that these three examples have in common is that all these remarks were made in the presence of the media, but initially, none of the slurs were considered newsworthy. I took the Toronto Star words before it finally published Lett’s inflammatory opinion piece in its sports pages. The Washington Post put an Jackson’s incoherent view for almost a month. There were at least a dozen journalistic pieces when Lett endorsed Thurmond on Dec. 3—only one organization, ABC, reported his views, albeit on a 4.5-min. newscast. Obviously, it’s not just the general public that has difficulty confronting people about their discriminatory attitudes.

Kathy Mock, the executive director of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, says progress has been made over the last couple of decades, but there remains a core group of Canadians—surveys suggest between 12 and 16 per cent—who harbour what may be considered racist views. The type of verbal that Althea Lewis expressed rarely surfaces in public discourse, but, as he said, so-called “signs of the struggle” can be said, but not resolved. “The reality is that when your relationships are done, the truth of what you’re thinking comes out,” says Mock. People have to be held accountable for what they say because the effects of hateful speech are so pernicious. “Even when it’s denounced and there are apologies, the damage done,” says Mock. Educational programs and dialogue can help break down walls, but business men deep, she adds. People tend to recognize and reject stereotypes applied to their own ethnic community, but not stereotypes they hold about other groups.

The fact is that ethnicity and religion are an issue in our politics. Slits of the border, Republicans have long played the race card by appealing to white fears of black crime, and, like Lott, through more veiled references to Southern heritage and pride. In



Althea Lewis (in 1975) and Lott (in 1992) are not alone in voicing hateful sentiments

Canada, during the 1995 federal election, the Reform party was pilloried for running a “no more Quebec politicians” ad campaign, but still managed to win 46 seats—all of them west of Ontario. And all papers in that country consider the ethnic makeup of ridings when they pick their candidates.

Paul Krasner, a University of British Columbia professor who specializes in African-American history, says the public memory is remarkably and conveniently short when it comes to measures of racism. The horrors of the Second World War or the hard-fought battles of the civil rights movement were not that long ago. “It’s surprising how North Americans tend to forget that on a comfortable past when it comes to racism like that,” he says. Lott was simply repeating the same sort of rhetoric that he has made all through his career, and sounds like many other Southern politicians. Republicans have prospered in the South since the mid 1960s by shunning their image to “the party of Lincoln,” says Krasner. And while Canadians might be outwardly more civil about race, this doesn’t mean we don’t have



our own serious problems, he adds. “There’s a small racism that exists here too,” Krasner says. Asian, Greek, black, Jew, Chinese, Japanese, and many other immigrant communities have suffered racial discrimination in this country. Our collective North American prosperity has been built on a sea of apartheid, from land grabs and slavery to cheap immigrant labour, Krasner notes.

Perspective is useful, but it doesn’t mean much to the people whose targets of hatred and hate. David Matts, senior legal counsel for Rylee North Canada, says the Jewish community is increasingly fearful. “There has been an upswing of intimidation, threats, profits and violence,” he says, citing reports like the foreshadowing of pogroms in Toronto and Saskatchewan last winter. “What we see across the board is in anti-Semitism.” Many in the community believe remarks like Althea Lewis’s are now all too common, rather than aberrant, and ask why more Canadians aren’t standing up and denouncing hate. “This is a pattern of denial,” says Matts. “This is the kind of treatment that can tear Canada apart. We have to take it seriously.”

He’s right. Everyone should know that racism, verbal or otherwise, on ethnic and religious minorities can’t be tolerated, no matter who delivers them, no matter what their excuse. David Althea Lewis will continue to pay an enormous price for the hateful things he said. “The Canadians need to be concerned about how we talk the people, in public and private, we let off the hook.”

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## WE'RE NOT LIKE AMERICANS

The real danger is that we will lose the better elements of our own identity

WE CANADIANS live in a land spot about our identity. We have very strong feelings about who we are, but only weak ones about who we are. We’re passionate about what we don’t want to become but only passive about what we should be.

Jonathan Grubshaw’s essay in the Nov. 25 edition of *Maclean’s* intelligently examines the central, and persistent, national anxiety that the country is becoming too like the United States and Canadians too like Americans. Sadly, Mr. Grubshaw neglects to explain why this would be so bad. To do that would require a positive statement about Canada’s identity instead of a merely negative one. As to people we are currently reluctant to let out our own distinctions.

For Canadians to say, for example, that we are a great and unique people with a mission to the world that would be deeply rooted in their identity or values disappeared.

That would be such an American thing to do. And the truth is, Canadians really aren’t like Americans. But to be anxious about Americanization does seem to be an erasing of the Canadian character.

Of course, Canadians and Americans are similar. We are both North American nations, developed mostly by immigrants, with democratic styles of government and intertwined economies and continental defence. In this sense, we are like the Americans as the Swedes like the Germans or the Belgians like the French.

But how does it matter that is one-tenth the size of either an population, with a waning military, an economy smaller than a couple of large U.S. states, and a dramatically different political system, imagine it is like his much more powerful neighbour?

That question puzzled me during 25 years of newspapering in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia. But from the perspective of Grubshaw’s about I moved two years ago, the issue looks absurd.

Americans, to the extent that they care at all, are largely good humoured about Canadian anxieties and debates. But they are

clear that their northern neighbours are a different and different people. Why then is it so difficult for Canadians to get that?

One is immediately reminded in the U.S. by differences in attitude and behaviour. Despite deep inequalities in income, Americans are far more for more egalitarian in their everyday life than Canadians. Differences of power or rank don’t generate automatic deference in the U.S., the way they do in Canada or most other Commonwealth countries.

Everyday life here feels more profoundly democratic—sometimes brazenly so. It’s also immediately apparent what a practical people Americans are. Asked how he deals with the harmful effects of crack houses on city neighbourhoods, Mayor Richard Daley once explained the Chicago approach:

- (1) Build the house and throw the crack heads in jail.
- (2) Expropriate the property.
- (3) Knock the house down.

That of problem.

In Canada we’d first study the issue for a decade, and in the end we’d enter treatment for the drug users and a renovation



grant for the crack house owner.

Mr. Grubshaw argues in his essay that we can rise for foreign policy is one measure of our growing interests with the U.S. He says Canadian foreign policy is now very actively embracing the American. This is a very common Canadian view and is a usually shared with a deep sigh or disconsolate shrug.

In fact, American foreign policy is based on a deep-seated sense of destiny and global responsibility and is backed by an immense national investment in military might. Canadian foreign policy, by contrast, today consists primarily of active sympathy in issue material deals. Our assumption seems to be that the world can be saved if the right speeches are made at the right meetings.

America has a practical foreign policy. Canada has a rhetorical one. Canada’s most dramatic contribution to global policy was made in peacekeeping at a time when the country still possessed a military force that commanded respect. When it ended that respect away for domestic social programs (and the votes that went with them), the Canadian governments hamstringing its foreign policy.

The most resonant differences between our countries are in our politics. Our political cultures attract different kinds of politicians, have unique institutional elements and produce very different ideas of a country’s duties.

The most feared weapon of Americanisation—television and film—is in fact the most harmless. Hollywood and Los Angeles have had little impact in changing the cultures of Arkansas, Kentucky or Massachusetts. The Canadian response will hold onto their distinctiveness, too. Once liberated from their unhealthy obsession with America, Canadians should reflect on what they have done and decline what mark they will want to make in the world.

The country had a noble record standing up for freedom and the British Empire in the 20th century. There is much to keep up in the Canada of the past.

Macdonald raised the standard as well as because America. That’s an unusual anxiety. The real danger is that we will lose the better elements of our traditional identity—that we will become Canada, Inc.

John Grubshaw, who grew up in Toronto, is vice president of national for the (Chicago) John Lewis and is still a Canadian citizen.

People tend to reject stereotypes applied to their own ethnic community, but not misconceptions they hold about other groups

# 'I MADE A DIFFERENCE'

The Prime Minister talks about Bush, Kyoto, politics—and a sign in the sky

**JEAN CHÉNÉTIEN** is nearing the end of his long and remarkable career as Canadian politician. He has spent much of his life in the public eye, and his opinions are greatly respected. On Dec. 18, he sat down with *Outlook* Correspondent **Julian Ikin** at his official residence at 24 Sussex Drive to discuss issues from Iraq to medicine, as well as the political scene. Highlights:

**In a matter of months we could be at war. Do you believe Iraq has come closer in its report to the United Nations?**

There's a debate about that. First we have to find out if they have weapons of mass destruction, and if they do, they will have to destroy them. If they refuse, it will be non-compliance. My position has been clear from the first day: If there is a war I think to be under a UN resolution. I have no problems with the President of the United States on this point, he has no problems with me. I told him, Canadians have a very clear tradition on these things—he understood that.

**Are you confident that the United States will not act unilaterally?**

I'm more confident today than I was in July. Now the debate is no longer about regime change, they're talking about weapons of mass destruction. That's a big departure from the summer, when the subject of thought was, "Who cares about the UN, we're going in."

**Brian Mulroney has criticized your relationship with George W. Bush, saying it should be closer. Do you think it's appropriate for him to make such a statement?**

He was close with the father Bush, so it's pretty normal. I would have been surprised if Mr. Mulroney would have said Mr. Chénétien has good relations with the American president. Personally, I have no problem with Mr. Bush. We're not the same. His social policies are not the same type as mine. His opinion about Iraq, he's for capital punishment and he's against gun control. I'm for a public health care system, he's prob-

ably not for that. He's a conservative and I'm not.

But that doesn't mean we don't have a good rapport. On a personal basis, he said of me, "He's dear, he's funny and he could be a lion." Probably, he meant to be nice. And that was our programming. So they had been an enemy, he could have not talked about me and only talked about business.

**Does it really matter to Canada-U.S. relationships if you're not close?**

No. The President is there to represent the United States and I'm there to represent Canada. This notion of body body is overrated. Mulroney and Reagan might have hung together when they were in office, but there were a lot of problems between the U.S. and Canada in the previous administration, more than today. I'm telling you, it's very rare for leaders to hate each other, because we don't see each other often and we're not competing, so we tend to be very nice to each other all the time. I'm not old pro, we both politicians, so we tend to be members of the same club.

**This has been a difficult year for you, and next year, with a leadership race, it could become worse. Have you considered moving up your departure from February 2007?**

It's also been a very good year for Canada. It's been a balanced budget, we have more growth than anywhere, more job creation, we passed Kyoto. The problem is I have a mandate to be prime minister by the people of Canada. When I was asked the question during the campaign, I said I will serve most of my term. I wanted to give about a year of notice, but because of the pressure I was under last summer, it turned out to be 18 months. And there's more to do. Health care will probably not be completed. We have an ethics package, the reform of telecommunications and funding—that has not been decided. Of course, some want me to go because they would like to be ministers right away (under a new leader), but that's not my problem, it's their problem.

**Would you reconsider if you thought it was hurting the party?**

It's too late now—I'm leaving in February 2004. There was a reason to choose that date. Twenty-four years ago, I wanted to give leadership to the new leader. And it's not hurting the Liberal party. If there was an election now, I would win.

**Are you concerned that Paul Martin is so far ahead in the leadership race, he'll have few challengers?**

There will be candidates and after that there will be a race. The media will make sure that the ones who are behind look good, so that the front runner does not look good. That is the nature of the beast. Also, if people predicted Jean Chrétien would win easily, so we don't know. Anyway, it's an error for a leader to pick a successor because you don't necessarily choose in the interests of the party, it's according to who you like, and you're not very objective. I will wait, but I'm not sure my judgment will be the best because I'm too close to the situation.

**Why have you had such an uneasy relationship with Martin and his supporters?**

Ask them, don't ask me. I've always been around 50 per cent in the polls, always 25, 30 per cent ahead of anybody else, so I had no problems. I was prime minister, doing my job, he was minister of finance and he decided to go, so he went. And I left going, and I'm still going until 2004.

**On health care, you've already said the government will be able to come up with the \$35 billion over the next years that *Ray Romano* recommends. Are there any other areas where you diverge from his report?**

We'll take a good part of it, not necessarily all of it. I'm not negotiating with you. It's very evident that the debate over a two-tier health system is over, we're not going there. There is agreement about accessibility.

**What about private, for-profit clinics?**  
They have to accept the five conditions of



medicine. If a hospital decides that, rather than have an MRI in the building, they'll have the specialists across the street and they pay them with public money, and they follow the five conditions of medicine, then I [agree].

**On Kyoto, wouldn't it have been better to have an implementation plan in place before moving to ratification?**  
We had to ratify it because everybody who opposes can always drag his feet on implementation and you never have a deal. Now we will have a deal, they have no choice any

more. And if a hospital decides that, rather than have an MRI in the building, they'll have the specialists across the street and they pay them with public money, and they follow the five conditions of medicine, then I [agree].

**How do you think you'll be remembered?**  
I can go into many fields where I made a difference—the establishment of national parks, balancing the books, the Chrétien Act, Kyoto, the land mines treaty. It will have had 10 years as prime minister, 14 years as leader of the Liberal party, first elected 41 years earlier. Not bad. But I don't want to be nostalgic. I have one year and one month and 12 days before I have to deliver on my commitment to go. I'm happy with how my announcement happened. I did that in Chénétien. It was a great place to do it. That night, I saw the sun setting on the Saguenay. It was red, red, red. It was beautiful. And there was a sign, "Monsieur Chénétien." That was pretty good.



## CANADA'S GIFT TO OPEC

Signing Kyoto helps the cartel at a time of huge uncertainty for oil prices

OPEC's GATHERING in Vienna put on displays depicting uncertainty, one occasioned to issuing deliberately false figures and increasingly uncomfortable about growing challenges—internal and external—to its power. Just about the only good news Vienna's shiekocracy got came from another decaying assembly with a penchant for bad omens, when Jan Christen imposed the Kyoto Protocol on Canada. That should stall development of an important longer-term challenge to OPEC—Canada's oil sands.

The difference between the sheiks and the Liberals, of course, is that OPEC produces about 24.7 million barrels a day of a real energy commodity, whereas the Liberals produce an unmeasured quantity of a form of natural gas exempt from greenhouse calculations.

OPEC's problems start with its members' access to producing as much oil, according to their agreed quotas, they should be producing only 21.7 million barrels a day. That means they're generating approximately US\$490 million a day by violating their own pledges to each other. (It isn't clear which means increases would equal the Liberals' means outlays for arming their transients with data on guns, so they could Christen in the data describing depletion.)

If the prognosis is presumably as bleak as the global demand on our production by 14 percent and its oil still trades at US\$28-30 (depending on grade), what's going on?

We're told that crude sells at such high prices because of George W. Bush's belatedly revealed Iraq. According to this widely disseminated view, oil would be near \$300 a barrel for use "Terra's interference with market forces." ("It's all about oil, not about some totally unproven threat from weapons of mass destruction," goes the analysis. The anti-Iraq New Yorker ran a cartoon showing an army of medieval warriors going at an olive orchard, with the caption, "It's all about olive oil.")

Since Terra's olive tree are, in left-brain terminology, only slightly less rare than the

National Rifle Association, and since OPEC is fiercely reviled even by people who plead for understanding of the complaints of Al-Qaeda, that conspiracy theory is widely held.

Problems in that world of uncertainties don't confirm that's hoarding. Inventories are tight—especially so for energy planners. A cold winter in North America and Europe could mean US\$50 a barrel even if Bush were to give up on Saddam.

Those three million barrels a day of over-production are not going into reserves controlled by speculators who expect to get rich from an Iraq war. Stable prices for oil futures and options on futures show the industry expects no big change in oil prices from a conflict with Saddam.

Not that the league of oil sheiks is confident that market demand will stay above expectations forever. Saudi oil minister Ali al-Naimi warned last September that prices could collapse to \$16 in the second quarter of 2001 unless OPEC's members cut production. (His own country used to account for about one-third of the "cheating," so he is not engaged in an act of public petty. He worries that an El Niño winter will mean above-normal temperatures in North America and Europe at a time when their economies are slowing.)

OPEC's strategy was to take a seemingly laissez-faire approach that might have been considered a success. OPEC will raise its production quota by about 1.5 million barrels a day, but cut actual production by 1.7 million barrels a day. This offsets most of the "cheating," but stabilizes output at a level that should be in line with global demand. OPEC's longer-range power is threatened.

Canadian oil stocks still merit consideration by investors, but they aren't worth as much as they once were

by Russia's fast growth in production, and by the huge oil reserves in the Caspian region. Offsetting those challenges are peaking production in the North Sea, and declining production in most other regions.

The main reason oil prices stay high is that demand is growing rapidly in China and in other Asian economies. The industrialized world, now the home of rapid growth, is no longer the price setter for oil.

A bigger potential threat to energy supplies than Bush comes from Miami come from Al-Qaeda's attack on the French tanker *Lusitania* off Yemen in October killed both the oil and insurance industries. Roughly three-quarters of oil exports and two-thirds of liquefied natural gas (LNG) exports travel through the pirate-infested Strait of Malacca, between Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula. Al-Qaeda has already published a threat to attack shipments of hydrocarbons from Islamic lands to the so-called infidels, and those large, slow-moving and largely undefended tankers are sitting targets. The mujahideen in Afghanistan acquired expertise in the use of Stingers and other portable missiles. Hitting an LNG tanker is child's play compared with downing a jet.

If every oil well in the world produced continuously at capacity, oil prices would be a bargain forever. But that cheerful supposition recalls the Canadian army insight: "If we had them, we could have been and eggs, if we had eggs."

The only conspiracy about oil uncertainty Nigeria denies threats from civil war, ditto Venezuela. Getting oil out from below the Caspian Sea is within the oil industry's competence, but getting it to market is a daunting geopolitical challenge. If prices were to fall to \$18 for more than a few months, production would be that down from high-cost areas worldwide. North Sea production will decline precipitously at the end of this decade.

Canadian oil and gas stocks have been one of my most favored groupings since 1999. Most analysts have consistently underestimated both demand and prices for oil and gas. Ratifying Kyoto—Christen's gift to OPEC—creates a major new risk for the industry. OPEC will outlive Christen, as Christian oil stocks are still worthy of investor consideration. But they aren't worth as much as they were a year ago.

Donald Cose is chairman of Harris Investor Management in Chicago and of Toronto-based investor research investments. [dcose@harriscan.ca](mailto:dcose@harriscan.ca)



IF LIFE WERE LIKE THAT, YOU WOULDN'T NEED A VISA CARD







Our articulated 4-wheel drive system and  
a 4-wheel independent suspension allow it to  
stick to the road, even when there isn't one.

**The new Pilot**



A photograph of Canadian soldiers in a field of green poppy plants with white flowers. One soldier is in the foreground, looking towards the camera, while others are further back. The background shows a dark, rocky hillside.

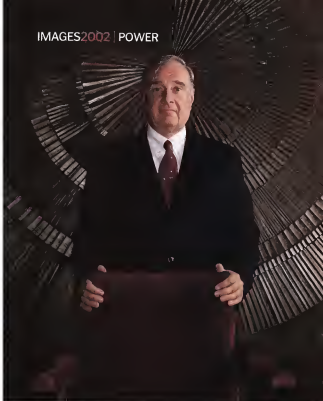
# IMAGES|2002

Morphing from peacekeepers to warriors, Canadian soldiers scoured Afghan poppy fields for Osama bin Laden's fighters. Terror turned truly global in 2002. Sudden death could befall military men in a combat zone—or tourists in carefree resort towns.



Family, friends and countrymen mourned Cpl. Andrew's Dyer of Toronto (left), one of four Canadian soldiers killed mistakenly by an American pilot during a training exercise in Afghanistan. After an inquiry, official charges were laid against the two U.S. women who infected the attack.

## IMAGES2002 | POWER



Paul Martin's drive for the prime minister's chair, in the teeth of the incumbent's animosity, signaled a mood of impending change. In all, four national parties were in the midst of leadership changes—the Alliance chose Stephen Harper—while the Brits kept looking cabinet reshuffles.





## IMAGES2002 | ATTACK



Selena killed in Washington and tragically in George W. Bush gave determined to eliminate Iraq's Saddam Hussein. The world's new dangers even reached Indonesia's idyllic island of Bali (above), where Islamic extremists set off bombs that killed 202, mostly Australian tourists. Terror of another local attack in Washington, where police pulled back by one of 20 victims killed by a pair of small planes.



A huge fence to separate the West Bank from Israel proper went up (top) as the Jewish state tried to protect itself from Palestinian suicide bombers. Arab anger only mounted (above), and attacks on Israelis spread as far as holiday spots in Egypt, where al-Qaida was implicated.



Maclean's and Global Television present

## Year-end Poll 2002

In Maclean's 19th annual poll, we take in-depth look at how Canadians feel about today's most pressing issues. The Strategic Council, one of the country's foremost authorities on public opinion, measures the mood of Canadians from coast to coast. How do we differ and in what ways are we alike?

### Watch it

**Global Sunday**  
December 23, 2002

Global Maritimes:  
Global Quebec:  
Global Ontario:  
Global Winnipeg:  
Global Regina:

Maclean's Global Year-end Poll 2002  
Host: Danielle Smith

Global Saskatoon: 5:30 p.m.  
Global Edmonton: 6:30 p.m.  
Global Calgary: 6:30 p.m.  
Global BC: 5:30 p.m.

**GlobalSUNDAY**

### Read it

**Maclean's**

Special year-end double issue.  
On newsstands:  
December 23, 2002  
to January 5, 2003

**MACLEAN'S**

**ROGERS**

# IMAGES2002 | VICTORY



Skating pair Iurie Selik and David Pelletier (opposite) shared Olympic gold with Russians Elena Berezhnaya and Anton Sikharidze, after the Canadians' classy performance on and off the ice overcame the judging scandal that rocked the Salt Lake City games. Captain Mike Lamoureux led the Canadian men's team to long-awaited Olympic hockey glory (above) as a furious nation celebrated at the streets. The 'foxy, feline' no-protection women's squad set up the hot break.



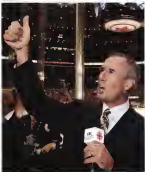


IMAGES2002 | VISITORS



On a crusade for youth, Pope John Paul II touched down in Toronto for a landmark week of worship with 200,000 pilgrims from all over. In the fall, the Queen spent 32 event-filled days in Canada as part of her Golden Jubilee. At 79 to his 82, she was by far the most vigorous.





Any Big Fat Greek Wedding, a sizzling film based on the lucky platters of Monte Carlo World Video Awards (top, with Julia Roberts), took championships by storm. The CBC aired on to a big fat new contest for Monte Carlo in Canada's Ron MacLean (above, left), still and again Don Cherry's sidekick. Shania Twain returned to the top of the country charts after a five-year break, singing at the Grey Cup in Edmonton.

# Casey House would like to thank

OUR MANY GENEROUS DONORS WHO OVER THE LAST YEAR HELPED US PROVIDE EXCEPTIONAL PALLIATIVE AND SUPPORTIVE CARE TO MORE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WITH HIV/AIDS THAN EVER BEFORE IN OUR 14-YEAR HISTORY.



The following organizations stood out in 2001/2002 with their generous program support.

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The Jule-Japp Foundation  
The Murray Family Charitable Foundation  
Bank of Montreal Foundation of Hope  
Royal Bank of Canada Employees  
San Life Staff Association  
American Airlines Employees Golf Tournament  
Bell Canada Employees' Fund for Community Services  
BPM Employees' Charitable Fund  
Ontario Power Generation Employees' Charity Trust  
Sears Employees' Charitable Fund - Toronto

THIS PAGE, CLOCKWISE FROM TOP:

**Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother, 186,** beloved royal consort (with King George VI).  
**William Blevins, 55,** cigar-smoking anything-for-a-lough TV comedian who ruled the 1950s.  
**Yasuji Kaseki, 75,** savagely humorous author of *The Japanese Zinebook* (see, known to all as "Zine").

**Frank Sinatra, 87,** fragrant hall of the beloved Vegas and Sinatra comedy team. *Johnny Hallyday* died in 1995.  
**Patricia Margulies, 37,** Queen's sister, swelling to give us royal to many divorcee Peter Rosemond. *Me* was divorced herself.

**James Cagney, 84,** tough-guy star of such films as *The Muggers* and *Our Man Flint*, and the boss's voice in *Murder, My Darling*.

**Pauline Kael, 68,** British-born Hollywood actor best-known for *Arthur* and *20*.  
**John Lennon, 63,** star of 1970s genre classic *Deep Throat*, later crusaded against smut.

**Peter Dinklage, 83,** over-curious writer-broadcaster who seemed the voice of Ginkah as host of *ABC Radio's* *Monsters*.

**John Paul Binkley, 76,** Montreal-born abstract artist who became Canada's most internationally celebrated painter.

AND

**Billie Jean King, 61,** columnist and Tony leader who engineered John Binkley's 1982 ouster as party leader.

**Yves Saint Laurent, 63,** Ottawa-based photographer whose portraits of Winston Churchill and Ernest Hemingway became iconic images.

**Harvey Karp, 71,** co-anchor of CTV's national newscast from 1970 to 1984.

**Jerry Garcia, 73,** ad man, singer and, while with the *Grateful Dead*, author of the *Canadian* lyrics to *The Last of the Mohicans*.

**George Strait, 50,** Toronto-born who designed Canada's maple-leaf flag in 1965.

**Wendy Mesinger, 62,** elegant parkinsonian from Prince Edward Island.

**Willem "Bull" Bakker, 83,** Supreme Court justice and regular royal commission chair.

**Henri "Bull" Bakker, 76,** Liberal cabinet minister and lieutenant-governor of Alberta.

**Elizabeth II, 83,** British-born Canadian landscape artist and novelist.

**John Kander, 67,** prolific director of *Boyz n the City* and *Boyz n the City*.

**Bonnie J. Brubaker, 68,** Calgary novelist found body in 1995 after shooting her estranged husband, Earl J. Brubaker (who survived).

**Bob Thomas, 66,** founder of the *Village's* first-food chain. After bought Tim Hortons.

**Bob Singer, 77,** Oscar winner in the redneck

## IMAGES2002! FAREWELL



Shirley is the film *The Heat of the Night*.  
**Richard Harris, 73,** British actor who played New Line's *Philly* in *Dumb and Dumber*.

**Billy Wilder, 85,** Austrian-born Hollywood director of such classics as *Some Like It Hot*, *Chick Jones, 85, Warner Bros. animator who created Road Runner and Wile E. Coyote.*

**Leo McKern, 82,** Australian actor best known as TV's *Inspector of the Galt*.

**Sir Nigel Hawthorne, 72,** the TV civil servant who died, *Yes, Minister*.

**John Thum, 66,** golf instructor *Alone*.

**Spide Wilkins, 82,** last surviving member of the madcap radio comedy *The Green Show*.

**Peggy Lee, 81,** sultry singer-composer whose hits included *Rock and Roll* and *That Old Time*.

**Wayne Jennings, 66,** country crooner.

**Leslie Koppelman, 64,** cool jazz alto saxophonist.

**Barbara Clancy, 74,** singer who starred with Bing Crosby in *White Christmas*.

**Don De Sica, 78,** founding member of the early punk band *The Ramones*.

**John Entwistle, 67,** bassist for *The Who*.

**John Entwistle, 67,** bassist for *The Who*.

**Ted Williams, 63,** baseball's big lefty.

**Johnny Weiss, 61,** the "Greatest Quarterback of All Time," according to the NFL.

**Bill Moss, 70,** American fashion designer.

**Upton Jenkins, 61,** better known as advice columnist *Ann Landers*.

**Arvid Lindqvist, 94,** Swedish author of the children's classic *Pippi Longstocking*.

**Thor Heyerdahl, 87,** Norwegian explorer who sailed his *Kon-Tiki* balsa raft across the Pacific to Polynesia.

**Stephen Jay Gould, 68,** renowned American biologist and the first to evaluate.

**James Taylor, 64,** U.S. novelist, proposed the "Robert" to curb currency speculation.

**Paul Wellstone, 58,** liberal U.S. senator.

**Richard Helms, 86,** CIA director fired during the Watergate scandal.

**Alvin Karpis, 67,** Israeli statesman.

**Cyril Vance, 84,** American statesman.

**Donald Pease, 67,** Wall Street Journal reporter murdered by Islamic militants in Pakistan.

**James Savinich, 87,** leader of Angola's UNITA forces, shot to death by government troops.

**Alvin Karpis, 67,** Israeli statesman.

**Edwin Albert Boyd, 66,** notorious Toronto bank robber of the 1930s.

**Joseph Bonanno Sr., 81,** New York crime boss known as "Joe Bonanno."

**Alvin Karpis, 67,** Israeli statesman.

**Edwin Albert Boyd, 66,** notorious Toronto bank robber of the 1930s.

**Joseph Bonanno Sr., 81,** New York crime boss known as "Joe Bonanno."

She's a friend or a neighbour or a coworker. She lives in your community and gives back in so many ways. You wonder how she does it. She doesn't look for gain or glory; she just does it because it needs to be done and she cares. She deserves to be honoured and recognized. We'd like to know who she is.



2003 AWARD RECIPIENTS (Clockwise from left): Caroline MacGillivray, Elizabeth L. Le, Joanne MacLachlan, Rhonda Hill, Gail MacLachlan, Nancy Kline. Working: Beverly Bruce, Patricia, ON

## 7th Annual FLARE volunteer awards

In 2003 six awards will be presented to Canadian women aged 18 and up whose volunteer contributions and achievements have made a significant difference to the lives of the people in their communities. The recipients will be invited to Toronto for an overnight stay in spring of 2003; they will participate in an awards ceremony and will be featured in a subsequent awards announcement in a national edition of FLARE magazine.

In order to recognize the vastly different experience levels of nominees at various stages of their lives, nominations will be considered in three categories:

- the **FLARE Volunteer Awards** – for women who are in their preliminary volunteering years and are aged 18 to 39
- the **FLARE Volunteer Award for Community and Leadership** – for women who have volunteered over a significant number of years and are aged 40 to 59
- the **FLARE Volunteer Award for Lifetime Achievement** – for women who have made a substantial volunteer contribution throughout much of their adult life and are 60 years old and over

Presented by

BMO  Financial Group

## 2003 Call For Nominations

Who deserves to be honoured? You could make your own contribution by helping her relieve some well-deserved recognition.

### Official Nomination Form & Requirements:

#### FLARE

To be eligible, the nominee must be a female, aged 18 and up (during the year of 2003), and be a resident of Canada. Her volunteer activities must have taken place in Canada.

**THERE ARE THREE AWARD CATEGORIES in 2003.** In order to recognize the vastly different experience levels of nominees at various stages of their lives, nominations will be considered in three categories:

• **FLARE Volunteer Award** (your nominee)

A nomination consists of a completed Official Nomination Form and a separate attachment answering as many questions outlined below as possible:

- 1 Give a description of the nominee's volunteer work and/or her individual or seasonal contributions to volunteering. Include the name(s) of organization(s) if applicable. **2** List approximately how many hours of volunteer work she contributed in 2002, and the volunteer's occupation while providing this service.
- 3 Give details of how the nominee identified a need, but not atracted support, raised funds and overcome obstacles.
- 4 Tell us how the nominee used initiative in her approach to

meeting the community's, or another person's, needs. **5** Tell us about the innovation involved in the nominee's volunteer work. Did she provide new services (not previously provided) in her community or neighbourhood or add new elements that made a positive difference? **6** Describe all the ways that her community or neighbourhood benefits from her volunteer work. **7** List her prior volunteer experience and/or additional information.

Please ensure the nominee has signed the declaration of accuracy (below) before mailing the nomination.

only over the years and how she has successfully encouraged others to volunteer.

• **FLARE Volunteer Award for Lifetime Achievement** If your nominee is aged 60 or over and has made an outstanding contribution to her community throughout most of her adult life. In addition to the seven points below, briefly describe her volunteer history. Point out how she has set an example and what makes her particular contribution stand out. How has she successfully encouraged others to get involved?

Send completed nomination including attachments, by post to: **FLARE Volunteer Awards, 777 Bay St., 7th Floor, Toronto, ON, M5W 1A7**

**NO FAXES ACCEPTED  
NO VIDEOS OR PHOTOS ACCEPTED**

Nomination form available at [www.flare.com/volunteer](http://www.flare.com/volunteer). For more information, please contact Flare Post Awards Coordinator at 416-593-2009, fax 416-593-2009 or email [flapost@flare.com](mailto:flapost@flare.com)

**Nomination Deadline:** received at Flare by or on February 7, 2003

**Award Category (you must check one):** ☐ FLARE Volunteer Award (aged 18-39) ☐

FLARE Volunteer Award for Community and Leadership (page 40-59) ☐ FLARE Volunteer Award for Lifetime Achievement (page 60+)

#### The Volunteer Nominee

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Current Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City/Town \_\_\_\_\_ Prov \_\_\_\_\_ Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_

Daytime Phone # \_\_\_\_\_ Evening Phone # \_\_\_\_\_

#### Sponsoring Organization/Individual

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Current Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City/Town \_\_\_\_\_ Prov \_\_\_\_\_ Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_

Daytime Phone # \_\_\_\_\_ Evening Phone # \_\_\_\_\_

Supply the names and phone numbers of two references whom FLARE may contact in connection with this nomination:

1 Name \_\_\_\_\_ Relationship To Nominee \_\_\_\_\_  
Daytime Phone # \_\_\_\_\_ Evening Phone # \_\_\_\_\_

2 Name \_\_\_\_\_ Relationship To Nominee \_\_\_\_\_  
Daytime Phone # \_\_\_\_\_ Evening Phone # \_\_\_\_\_

#### Nominee Must Sign The Following Declaration of Accuracy

I have made the nomination details above, and all attachments, and certify that they accurately describe my volunteer work. I agree that my voluntary work was not performed as a condition of any salaried employment nor solely as a requirement of any educational or professional course.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Name (please print) \_\_\_\_\_

**RULES & REGULATIONS:** 1 The selection of the judges to find all nominees and submit their recommendations to the award selection committee, written or photocopied, and the property of FLARE magazine and may be used for volunteer purposes. 2 All nominees submitted without the nominee's signature will not be considered. FLARE reserves the right to publish short biographies of nominees and recipients. 3 All nominees submitted without the nominee's signature will not be considered. FLARE reserves the right to publish short biographies of nominees and recipients. 4 FLARE reserves the right to check the nominee's references. 5 Each recipient will receive one return ticket to Toronto from anywhere in Canada, one night's accommodation in a comfortable hotel, plus \$200 for ground transportation, meals, etc.





## THE SENATE WAKES UP

Suddenly, it's the upper chamber that's producing all the interesting ideas

**IN HIS RECENT** autobiography *Not Just For a Sergeant*, Barney Danson recounts how, more months before the outbreak of the Second World War (in 1939, there were so few militia units, with such pitiful equipment, that his tiny group had to trail the Royal Tour from Toronto to Niagara Falls. On each occasion, the media lapped up as a Guard of Honour, on each occasion, the delighted King and Queen inspected them, happily aware that it was always the same cobbled-together band. Although the former defence minister relishes that memory, he deeply regrets the lack of public interest in the military in peacetime. So he was motivated last month when the Senate national security and defence committee issued its forceful, headline-grabbing call for a 30-month restriction on overseas military deployment in order to revitalize the troops. "I don't have much faith in the Senate, but what that committee has done is very dynamic and very good," says Danson in some wonderment. "I don't recall such good reports happening before."

Join the club. Since then, as the output of the House of Commons has waned, the Senate has thrived. Committees are tackling long-neglected issues from bank mergers to child care to the legalization of marijuana. They are compelling local, often controversial recommendations. [The defence committee's tough talk is largely responsible for the fact that Defence Minister John McCallum will receive \$400 million to \$1 billion in new funding in the next budget.] And the disbanding group of the Prime Minister's Office has not managed to squelch publication of these contentious reports, which often criticize the government's own policies. For a non-elected chamber of 56 senators, including 63 Liberals and 30 Tories, this is as close to a miracle as any Canadian could possibly expect from this wretched Parliament. "As the government seems unable to put forward anything that might even be disputed within the Liberal caucus, the trust for policy development has shifted," says

High Segal, president of the Institute for Research on Public Policy. "The senators have the freedom and the perspective. And they're doing one heck of a job."

In a chamber where appointment has been called "a tawdry charade," evidence of this unexpected revival is everywhere. The Senate banking committee has just told the government to interfere as little as possible in bank mergers—mere weeks after the PMO effectively squelched an attempted merger between the Bank of Montreal and the Bank of Nova Scotia. That committee has now returned to the thorny issue of corporate governance in the wake of the Enron debacle. The foreign affairs committee is about to tackle the Canada-U.S. and the Canada-Mexico trade relationships. The communications committee is awaiting authorization to examine the explosive issue of corporate concentration in the media. And, in the wake of an in-depth Senate report which called for the legislation of netiquette, the government is proposing to de-militarize possession of small weapons.

There's more. This fall, the social affairs committee released a urgent report on health care reform, denigrating for-profit home care and pharmaceutical programs. Health ministers are paying attention to this blueprint for a struggle to extend Medicare. The committee will next examine mental health. "People forget that there is a lot of talent in the Senate," says committee chair Michael Kirby. "And we had the fortuity to start on some very difficult and controversial issues."

It has taken more than four months. It is obvious to the senators that the Commons is functioning badly; civil servants are hesitant to promote adventurous policies

when squabbles over Jean Chrétien's leadership dominate the agenda. And many senators now have the best of both money and time to fill that void. The Senate's proposed budget for 2003-2004 is \$67 million. In the mid 1990s, after decades of rigid allocations for particular expenses, senators were finally given an overall allowance: each now gets \$127,500 per year for research, assistance and office expenses. As well, more senators now treat the position as a full-time job and, probably not coincidentally, 35 per cent are now women.

The institution is working—intensely. There were 544 Senate committee meetings, costing \$2.1 million, in 2001-2002—up from 344 meetings in 1997-1998. Because Kirby's committee used existing staff and offices, its tab was only \$336,000—compared with \$15 million for the recent Romanow Royal Commission on medicine. "The expertise is here," says the social affairs vice chair, Terry Marjory LaRue. "We just add our partnership to deal with the more important question of solving the health-care dilemma."

But that doesn't explain why the PMO hasn't railined the Liberal agenda. Part of the credit goes to government Senate leader Sharon Carstairs. Insiders say she would never shuffle committee seats to her controversy. Carstairs says simply, "I encourage activist chairs." Anyway, many Liberal senators would rebel at the first hint of interference, because they are disgusted with the policy vacuum. Those members are media savvy—and they know their output is solid. "We don't have to worry about the words of God coming down on us from on high," confides one Liberal senator. "Sharon would say, 'This is what the Senate is for.' And the headlines would be unbelievable."

So much for the next national security committee report on airports—which the cabinet would love to suppress. That tiny band of senators has spoken to everyone from baggage handlers to flight attendants. And its findings about the activities of organized crime and the lack of security checks for ground crews are shocking. "Things simply don't work," says chair Galin Royce. "And the government thinks everything is OK." Not for long: the Senate has become the unlikely but very real watchdog for Canadians' interests in Ottawa. □

Mary Jaggan's column appears every other month. [maryjaggan@shaw.ca](mailto:maryjaggan@shaw.ca)

# STICKS AND STONES MAY BREAK HER BONES BUT NAMES COULD MAKE HER STARVE HERSELF TO DEATH.

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# THE FALL OF THE TITANS

Canada's ability to compete globally is being seriously threatened

THE ACCUMULATION of wealth and power in this country used to be a gradual process of unfolding possibilities, like climbing a mountain or sailing the latest open-toe boots by John Robert's. All that changed during the 1990s, when fortunes were made, if not overnight then over weekends, by the warlords of the New Technology. Investable investment funds and inflated expectations flooded the international marketplace. Instant corporate gratification became the order of the day.

An impressive gaggle of Canadian tycoons recognized globalization as the essential economic life force of the 21st century, and set out to harness its potential. For a while it worked, and dozens of once-humdrum Canadian companies became world-class players. The borderless world seemed to set no boundaries to accumulation. Exorbitant Canadian tax rates, the rebuke of Ontario's restrictive legislation and our frigid climate could all be bypassed simply by expanding into foreign territories. Taking that step meant that the markets for domestic enterprises increased from 31 million Canadians to what seemed like infinity. By 1998, of the world's 100 largest economies, less than half were countries; the balance consisted of transnational corporations, at least a dozen of them flying Canadian banners. With more gas than brains, most of these high fliers behaved as if they had lost to time.

And then it did, when the century unravelled, along with the stock markets. Between the spring of 2000 and the summer of 2002, U.S. equity value lost an estimated US\$7.5 trillion, grounding many of our most daring entrepreneurs.

The catalyst for this bloodletting in the Canadian market has created a serious setback for Canadian business. Many of our best-known



private brands have vanished, many more are financial basket cases. On top of these worrying trends is the persistent deficit syndrome of those investors lucky enough to have believed their brokers (the same guys who more than like it was a mountain of gold, when it was read all along) and didn't sell their shares in time. The demise of the Titans is far more significant than

just another bunch of corporate handshakes getting their counterparts for acting too big for their britches.

The corporate casualties on the list of the fallen include such once mighty cash-cash-cashers as Nortel, BCE and Bombardier. Their corporate strategies depended on constant and accelerating revenue and profit growth. When their markets were drastically re-

The cumulative effect of this bloodletting is a serious setback. Many of our best-known corporate brands have vanished; many more are financial basket cases.



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This contest commences on Monday November 4, 2002 11 a.m. EST and ends Friday January 10, 2003 11:59 p.m. EST. To be eligible, entries must be received no later than Friday January 10, 2003 11:59 p.m. EST. This contest is only open to legal residents of

Canada who have reached the age of majority in their province of residence and are residing in Canada at the time of this offer. On Monday January 10, 2003 in Toronto at 10 a.m. EST, one eligible entry will be selected by random draw from the eligible entries received and will be eligible to win the Grand Prize. In order to be declared a winner, the selected entrant must first correctly answer a mathematical deduction question and complete and sign a Release & Indemnity Form.

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duced, they cut costs and downsized by more than 50,000 skilled employees among them, hoping to get a new start. It didn't happen. Several of these wounded corporate giants seem to be approaching the danger point. What happened was that reducing costs was also cutting revenues, and that's a vicious cycle that spells disaster if the fiscal hemorrhage isn't stopped.

Canada has usually lost many other major corporations not included in the list below. The successful signs of American takeovers, they have survived in much reduced, subsidiary roles. Outstanding examples include Westcoast Energy, Canadian Hunter Exploration, Gulf Canada Resources, Anderson Exploration and Bitland Petroleum. The only new Canadian mega-corporation founded in 2002, through the merger of Alberta Energy and PacifiCan, was Calgary's EnCana, the world's biggest independent oil company.

Forrester magazine, which keeps an annual scorecard of the most significant global business enterprises, listed only 11 Canadian firms (apart from our Big Five banks) in this year's tabulation of the world's 500 largest corporations. The still vibrant Canadian corporate empires included in Forrester's list are not: we're George Weston, Alcan, Power Corp., Magna International, Sun Life, Manulife, Orica and TransCanada Pipelines.

"What worries me most," Gerry Schwartz, the Orica CEO, told me earlier this year, "is the loss of head offices. When ambitious young people want to make a career in a company, they apply at its head office, because that's where the top jobs are. So suddenly, our young MBAs, who would otherwise want to work in Canada, must go to Milwaukee, Chicago and New York, where the head offices have moved. Also, when a head office leaves, you lose an whole infrastructure. Let's say Primrose House was the head office of Westcoast Energy. Since they were taken over by Duke Energy, the senior partner for the auctioning firm would no longer be sitting in Vancouver, but at Duke's head office, in Charlotte, North Carolina."

Like or not, we live and work in a globalized marketplace. But if our biggest global keep struggling, we will not have the means to stay in the race. There's have a way of coming more deeply into focus near the end of their business cycles. The ac companying list of failed Trans businesses



Edgar Bronfman Jr. went on a wild buying spree, trading plastic for pop.



Steven Hudson changed his street by suddenly leaving town for parts unknown.

that we may be reaching precisely such a moment. The era of Canada as a breeding ground for corporate giants may be ending, just as it was getting interesting.

**THE BRONFMANS** | More dangerous than astrology.

Never has a gene pool dried up with more dire consequences. In 1994, when Edgar Bronfman Jr., then 38, succeeded his father as head of Seagram, the Canadian-based liquor empire—and one of the world's largest—his first major decision was to sell

its \$12.7-billion stake in E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co., the giant U.S. chemical conglomerate. He used the funds to go on a wild buying spree, trading glass for pop, by snapping up supermarket MCA Inc. and PolyGram, the world's biggest record label. Outgoing PolyGram CEO Adam Leventhal gave advice to young Edgar who to caution him that the music business is "more dangerous than astrology." By then, the legend DuPont investment would have fetched \$28 billion, but at least the family still held 120 million shares of Seagram stock, worth \$7 billion.

Young Edgar soon took care of that. He sold controlling interest in the family firm to Vivendi SA, the upstart French media empire, headed by a hyper-optimistic named Jean-Marie Messier. Against all sensible odds, the Canadian opted to take Vivendi shares instead of cash for the Seagram shares.

That perceptive turn of mind in Vivendi, dragged down by a debt load of US\$30 billion, went into free fall earlier this year, reducing the value of the Bronfman holdings by three quarters. One of Canada's most enduring fortunes was washed from existence. Charles, as that Canadian-born, is down to his last billion. (Ironically, while Vivendi was trying to stay afloat by selling off beer assets, DuPont's 2001 profits jumped 85 per cent.)

Most dynasties die hard. This one lay dead away its legacy when the family placed its trust in the wrong hands.

**LAURENT BEAUDOIN** | The family saw its net worth drop by 70 per cent.

Until its recent fall from grace, Laurent Beaudoin's world-class, Montreal-based transportation conglomerate, Bombardier Inc., enjoyed pride of place as the world's biggest maker of trains and one of the biggest of small airplanes. Bombardier's various divisions, including the world's largest railway equipment-making facilities, employs more than 30,000, revenues rose between 1996 and 2000 and profits more than doubled.

Bombardier was such a profits-oriented operation that in 1999, on the very day Ottawa's politicians signed the treaty to end on lead mines, he received a memo sent to the hall where the announcement must be being made to exhibit models of his new airborne noise detectors. From off the assembly lines, selling at \$4.7 million for a four-pack, the units



lens. That moved Newcoast, a commercial finance company established by Hudson in 1964 with a \$400,000 investment, into the major leagues with \$10 billion in owned and managed assets.

When crabs were plentiful in the late '90s, Newcourt couldn't raise enough cash, and in 1999 sold out to a U.S. investment house for \$4 billion. Hudson went on to try to establish private investment funds with Peter Munk and several pension funds, but none of these partnerships prospered. He also became Brian Tobin's chief fundraiser in the Newfoundland politician's planned run for the Liberal party leadership, which turned out to be another non-starter.

In *Deceiver*, the one-time boy wonder of Bay Street surrounded the Torrance investment community by suddenly leaving town for parts unknown. His destination turned out to be Boca Raton, deep in the heart of Florida, where he has taken charge of the Hair Club for Men, an outfit that claims to provide great hairdos (Be careful, Steve. Only the Boca rags falling hair. I know these things.)

**CHARLES SINDIS** | The man with the  
Bella Hadid and laughing eyes  
In the pages of the very magazine, a bold,  
bold business couple dubbed Charles Sindis

the next master of the universe." That was in November 1996 when, during a 20-minute interview I conducted with Strain, the stock in his communications company, Teglobe Inc., jumped \$3.78. How could so many shares (11 million and change) find this modest increase made him \$40 million richer as we talked? When I asked him how he felt about the unexpected windfall, he shrugged, "Good day. But so what?"

[illegible]

When Teleglob began to crumble, the unlikely savior of Charles Smith's credit line was Jean Monty, who purchased the collapsing telecommunications firm on behalf of BCE Inc. for an astounding \$6.4 billion. Two years later, Teleglob sought bankruptcy protection and its main operations were sold to an American capital management firm in September for a meager \$181.5 million.



*when*  
closing one door means  
opening the door to another.

discussants drove what was Canada's high-tech star into the ground. Instead of sharing the misery, he cashed in \$135 million in stock options during the very year Morrell's once-luminous fortunes began to turn into dust.

and the other two are the same as in the previous case.

Two questions remain: why did the Nasdaq board of directors not assign to John Ruth the blame for what happened? It was Ruth, after all, who paid out US\$5.16 billion to acquire 11 companies in 2000 which a year later were worth just US\$1.67 million. Most of these investments have since been written off as worthless. Nasdaq's directors acted as if nobody was responsible for securing Canada's premier high-tech companies. Yet the New York Times rightly describes Moroz's US\$512.2 billion second quarter 2001 losses as "a milestone in the history of mismanagement of shareholder assets."

The *Journal of Management* is a leading journal in the field of management. It publishes research articles, book reviews, and other material that is relevant to the field of management. The journal is published by the Society for Management Science.

North's line raises the critical issue: How can Canada hope to compete in the 21st century if we have so completely killed good bye companies that once had tech-driven prospects?

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# CLAIRE LEWIS DIDN'T HAVE TO DIE

Her parents have fought hard to learn what killed their 11-year-old in hospital

**MOST PEOPLE** WHO take pictures know what it's like to have lozepam about a roll or two of exposed film. Some time later they come across them, have them developed, and get a surprising reminder of a time gone by. It can be an unsettling experience, as it was for John and Brenda Lewis. The Hamilton couple, married 16 years, had a handful of old films developed with no idea what was on them. One of the prints turned out to be an image of their youngest daughter, Claire, at age 10, who'd been dressed up as an angel by her older sister, Jess. Claire, arms long at her side, is in the foreground wearing a single white dress and an elegant tiara. A heavenly bloom of flowers surrounds her. In the family's front yard, a halo hangs her head. It's one of the last memories the Lewises have of their little daughter who, by the time the picture was printed, had been dead for more than a month.

Claire was a talented girl who had to-bus-ness dying halfway through her 12th year. In the summer of 2001, she started having headaches. Her ophthalmologist said Claire's optic nerve was atrophying and she was losing her peripheral vision. The following week, a neurosurgeon told the family Claire's problem was a benign tumour about the size of a robin's egg at the base of her brain, near the pituitary gland. She had to have surgery. Claire asked her parents if she was going to die. They told her it was possible, but they believed that wouldn't happen.

While there were risks, there was also the strong expectation that the surgery would leave Claire completely cured. In fact, it was a success. But then Claire's caregivers at Hamilton's General Hospital, and in particular those at McMaster University Medical Centre's paediatric intensive care unit, committed a series of egregious errors while she was recovering under their watch. She died, suddenly, on Oct. 14, 2001.

More than a year later, the family is still

badly shaken by what happened, and at the hospital's ham-fisted response. Jesse, 14 and now an only child, is "extremely angry," says her father. "She knows her sister should've been dead," adds her mother. "I don't believe in God anymore." Jesse says "I kind of used to, but now I don't. People keep telling me that God took her—God needed her—when we needed her."

**ACCORDING TO** the medical world's little nomenclature, Claire suffered an "adverse event." Each year, an estimated 10,000 patients die in Canadian hospitals as a result of staff errors, while a further 10,000 die from "non-preventable adverse events," such as hospital infections and unexpected drug complications. Another 30,000, give or take, die of unforeseen or preventable causes while under care outside hospitals. That's an average of more than 100 people—someone's family and friends—taken every single day. Those staggering figures are extrapolated from data collected in the U.S., Britain and Australia, but are widely accepted as reasonable approximations. In 1999, the U.S. Institute of Medicine estimated that up to 98,000 Americans a year

die in hospital due to medical errors, and an other million are injured. A 2000 study found that adverse events cause patient harm in 10 per cent of hospital admissions in Britain, amounting to 850,000 times a year. Certainly, the vast majority of doctors and nurses are hard-working, competent and caring professionals. Sometimes there is nothing that can be done, as when a patient has an unexpected allergic reaction to penicillin. But sometimes, as in Claire's case, warning signs are missed, judgments are made that are just plain wrong. Compared to others, Canada lags in doing something about it. Britain's National Health Service is implementing a quality assurance program with an emphasis on patient safety, while Australia has created a council for safety and quality in health care. Meanwhile, Canada has yet to collect its own data.

Self-presurance is a deeply ingrained human trait. Facing embarrassment, loss of status and professional sanctions, doctors and nurses are often inclined to tell parents and their families as little as possible when something goes wrong. Administration and staff at Hamilton Health Sciences—the umbrella organization that oversees the General and McMaster's medical centre—did not meet with the Lewises until four months after Claire died. The first national wall of silence in the immediate aftermath of his daughter's death befuddled John Lewis, a 47-year-old man who speaks his mind, regardless. Had it not been for his insider knowledge as an employee at Hamilton Health Sciences (he has since left), it's almost certain Claire's death would have been written off as a complication arising from the brain surgery. "It's like a dog died in the ICU," Lewis says in disgust.

Last April, six months after she died, the hospital took responsibility for Claire's death and wrote the family an apology. Paul Harte, the couple's lawyer, says McMaster's ad-

Surgery for a brain tumour was successful, but a series of errors took their toll



Six months after Claire died, the hospital took responsibility and wrote the family an apology. Brenda and John Lewis want the same from the doctors and nurses.



mission of guilt is not making. "The hospital didn't act as quickly as John would have liked," says Harris, "but the reality is that all I do is see doctors and hospitals, and this is the first time I've ever seen a hospital take responsibility." In their six-page letter, Dr. Andrew McCallum, chief of staff in Hamilton Health Sciences, Margaret Keatings, chief nursing officer, and chief executive Marmy Martin detail how staff mismanaged Claire's fluids and the crucial sodium levels in her blood, causing a fluid-sodium imbalance that crashed Claire's brain stem. "We knew there were things done that should have been done differently," McCallum says.

**JOHN LEWIS** is a rare, clever bird. He was a professional guitarist well into his 30s, but Claire would cry for days whenever he toured. So Lewis gave up music to become a nurse and spend more time with his family. Brenda Lewis, 42, has been a library technician for 12 years. When she and her husband talk about what happened, it's John's aggressiveness that dominates the conversation. But Brenda quietly bides her time, and when the discussion is with conviction and measured perspective. Together, they've lived for six years in a sturdy but

modest post-war 1½-story A-frame in a working-class part of Hamilton. Claire shared John's love of music, and traded piano since the age of four. She adored beetles and beans and wanted to become a veterinarian. Before the surgery, Claire's class at Norwood Park School held a party for her, and gave her a teddy bear almost as tall as she was. After her death, the students presented her parents with a scrapbook filled with pictures of school trips and other memories. But there's a picture of her entire class, with Claire conspicuously absent.

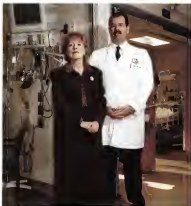
**THE GENERAL HOSPITAL**, part of the Hamilton Health Sciences university teaching network, had the best message for neurosurgery, so doctors chose it for the operation. John got permission to be at surgery with Claire prior to the start. She was lying on a gurney, strapped in with a blanket to ward off the room's sterile chill. "We sang that stupid Carpenters song, 'Close to You,'" recalls John. "We changed it to 'Why do beetles and ladybugs suddenly appear.' " She was singing away.

Claire (far left) with her family, with her dad, and recording her piano music in a studio

Then the anesthesiologist put Claire under. "The room went silent—no one said a word," says Lewis. "You could hear the fans, and one of the two neurosurgeons says over my shoulder 'That's the smoothest induction of a child I've ever seen—remarkable, we're going to have a great surgery.' "

And by all accounts, they did. It took the neurosurgeon 1½ hours to remove virtually the entire tumor without damaging the optic nerve. Claire spent about two hours recovering at the General. She was soon asked about the leftover chills she had saved from the hospital cafeteria the night before. "It just blew my mind," says Brenda. "I felt this sense of relief that, thank God, she's all right." Then things started to go wrong. Claire was transferred, as planned, to McMaster's pediatric ICU, but her medical records didn't go with her. The ICU staff, as a result, was unaware of the type of the sick Claire had received, and in what quantities. That was the first of several mistakes.

Claire's post-operative care required physicians and nurses to carefully monitor her levels of fluid and sodium, a blood-sodium electrolyte crucial for preventing fluid build-ups. This is where the record got a little murky. While the hospital admits things were wrong,



there is disagreement among the several doctors and nurses as to what was tried and done over the next two days. According to McCallum and the review report, Claire was incorrectly diagnosed with a condition called *diabetes insipidus*, a common post-operative complication characterized by excessive fluid loss through the urine. The ICU staff reportedly gave her a drug called DDAVP to shed excess fluids. Compounding that error was another: whoever mislabeled the DDAVP order into Claire's file created the phrase "call endocrinology." The on-call endocrinologist needed to be consulted, says McCallum, because DDAVP is a replacement for one of the body's naturally occurring hormones. One day DDAVP was administered, an endocrinologist should have known about it and provided closer surveillance.

In fact, the last thing Claire needed was to retain water. The morning after the operation, John, Brenda and Jesse visited Claire. She was sleepy and difficult to rouse, a possible sign of pressure building in the cranium, says the hospital. John became alarmed when he saw that his daughter was shaking—what John identified as "pre-seizure" activity.

John says he asked the nurse what was going on. Again, according to John, the nurse told Claire was fine. (There is currently no independent confirmation of the exchange between John and the nurse.)

A short time later, Claire had a violent, body-arching, head-tossing, three-minute seizure. "I was screaming—they had to take me out of the room," Jesse recalls. "I thought she was dying." John didn't like what he saw one bit. "I yelled at the nurse, 'She's having a seizure!'" I almost said, "Are you happy now?" but I didn't." Claire was given a drug to control the muscle spasms and taken for a brain scan that showed no bleeding. Her sodium levels were adjusted, but not adequately, says McCallum, and staff continued to give Claire fluids for the *diabetes insipidus* she did not have.

The next day, Claire was sitting up, talking and laughing. She had a cheese sandwich and juice for lunch. Claire and Jesse hugged and sat together every other hour. Later, with Claire napping, the Lewises left for a few hours. "We came back at about 6:20 p.m., and Claire's dad is in a panic," says John. "We just looked at her and immediately knew

Keatings and McCallum launched an investigation and issued an apology

she wasn't all right," adds Brenda.

John crunched up two newspapers who had just arrived herself. "I said, 'What's wrong with Claire?' The nurse looks up at the monitor and says she's fine." I said, "She's not fine—have you gone in and looked at her? She's not fine!" John bargained the nurse until she called the resident, who assessed Claire, but according to the hospital's own review, "did not take any immediate action." Had he, the hospital concluded, it is possible Claire would still be alive.

John and Brenda sent John home with a relative. As they stood by Claire's bed, her breathing got progressively slower and more labored. John says he was incredibly pleased with the nurse for help. Then Claire stopped breathing, and all hell broke loose. John started screaming at the top of his lungs for a respiratory technologist. "He never an AT stat!" He rushed down the hall to find three nurses in the waiting area. "I yelled at them. 'For fuck's sake, this kid is dying!' No one knew anything." The hospital found that when the senior physician was made aware of Claire's condition, he judged that it would not be beneficial to grow her the drug that earlier might have saved her life. It was now obvious that Claire had suffered a "catastrophic event," says the hospital. About the next morning showed she was brain dead.

**FOUR MONTHS LATER**, the hospital and the Lewises finally met. Middle managers told the couple the hospital's death review committee had concluded that Claire died from complications associated with the operation. John Lewis was indignant. "I tapped the table and said, 'I'm a really smart guy. You're not walking away from this one. I work for you. I've been on this side of the table, now I'm over here. You're not walking away.' We got up and walked out—end of meeting." Lewis fired off angry letters to senior administrators. McCallum, Keatings and Susan Smith, vice president of patient services, soon conducted their own review, one that ultimately concluded that "Claire's death could have been avoided."

Last September, the National Committee on Patient Safety, backed by the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, recommended the creation of a Canadian



"She's not fine," Claire's father shouted at the intensive-care nurse, who checked the girl's condition on a monitor. "Have you gone in and looked at her? She's not fine!"



# Health info for every body



Health | >

Parent Safety Institute. The institute would release as much as \$10 million a year for at least five years, and would evaluate new policies, programs and technologies. At the time the committee began its study, the Liberal government was expected to form a national quality commission on health care in time to receive the safety report, says Dr. John Miller, a committee member and a vice-president at the Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI). Ottawa never created the commission, so the committee's report was orphaned. It sits on a shelf now. Parents die needlessly, says Miller, because health care is run like a cottage industry: a number of dispersed individual operators with minimal cross-sharing of information. "And that, fundamentally, is what's driving this," says Miller, "to move by a culture of blame looking to a doctor to obscure things."

To nail down just how many people die, CIHI and the Canadian Institutes of Health Research have jointly funded a study to estimate the extent of adverse events in Canadian acute-care hospitals. That report is expected in 2004. Dr. Philip Hiebert, a family physician and head of the St. Joseph's Health Sciences Centre in Toronto, says the country's medical colleges and some hospitals are struggling to develop better safety policies. They could use help. "It sure would be nice to learn what a hospital in Salt Lake City is doing, and what a hospital in Halifax is doing," says Hiebert, "so that people aren't required to reinvent the wheel at every institution."

That's what they're doing at Hamilton Health Sciences. Since Clancy died, the administration has taken several steps—medical records must now travel with patients, staff have been re-educated on proper DNRs and do-not-resuscitate orders, and staff have been urged to pay close attention to family concerns. Senior administrators are to be allowed access to information of events involving unexpected harm or death. A patient family disclosure policy for when things do go wrong is in its final stages of development. Knapings, who heads the division, says the staff involved made mistakes, but she stresses on that they're not serial offenders. "It's obviously not productive or helpful to blame people," says Knapings. "What we want to do is learn through this process. The staff who were involved are absolutely devastated. Obviously, it's not to discredit that the Lewis fam-

## Medical colleges and hospitals are struggling to develop and share better practices to prevent avoidable patient deaths

ily, because they'll never be able to hold their little girl again, but the physicians and the nurses will never get it either."

**JOHN LEWIS DOESN'T** like to think of his daughter as a patient. "I guess what the health-care industry needs to ask itself, how does the family of, say, an 11-year-old child killed by physicians feel about the death being regarded as a learning experience for physicians, nurses and the hospital?" says Lewis. "Where do the issues of accountability and responsibility reside in the culture of learning?" Perhaps part of the answer lies in comments McCullum made when asked whether staff had been disciplined because of their error. "We looked at the case very carefully," McCallum says, "and had we found someone who is a repeat offender, we would have acted quite differently. It's important to understand that saying we are moving from a culture of blame to one of understanding and learning doesn't mean everybody goes off."

A coroner's report could blame the family's hands by as early as Christmas, a day after Clancy died. The hospital has instructed its lawyers to reach a financial settlement with the family. John and Brenda Lewis continue to pursue the doctors and nurses through the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario and the Ontario College of Nurses. Unlike the hospital, they have not accepted responsibility.

Clancy's organs were donated to six people. Two weeks after her cremation, John, Brenda and Jesse could no longer stand looking at her empty bed in the room the grief-stricken shared. They decided to disassemble Clancy's slatted black cot. Dad, who used to hide under her bed, died a year to the day after her death. Clancy's ashes rest in a casket on an upright piano in the living room. Made in 1906, it once belonged to John's grand mother. Clancy was the only one in the house who played it. "It's been quiet," Brenda says softly. "It's been terribly quiet."

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Over to You | SHAN GHULAM



## THE SADDAM OBSESSION

For Iraqis, he is always with us. But maybe he's just another Wizard of Oz.

**LAST NIGHT**, I had a dream. I was standing in front of a projector giving business presentation. Saddam Hussein was sitting in the audience. He asked stupid questions, looked impatient with my presentation and showed little interest in what I was saying.

I thought about, and missed my staff at the end and before I left the room, I said respectfully, "Thank you, Mr. President." I woke up greatly disturbed. This is the first time I've had a dream about Saddam in a long time. I thought I had moved him.

Let me explain. I'm an Iraqi ex-pat who grew up in Kuwait. Even though I never lost sight in my country, as a child I was constantly exposed to Saddam's personality cult. In our living rooms, my parents had no place for a picture of Mr. President as a subtle protest. Working at the Iraqi embassy had rubbed my father because there were no pictures of the President in our house. My dad, afraid of repression, bought the small one that he could find and placed it in a prominent place in the living room so all could see it. This might sound ridiculous to a Canadian, but all other Iraqi families had huge pictures of Saddam in every room.

Our neighbour had a huge poster of him plastered on the wall. The wife would come an amateur next to it and go on and on, "Saddam is our father, Saddam is our protector, where would we be without him!" etc. Everybody sitting around would nod their heads, agreeing with him. The rumour was that our neighbours were associated with the Iraqi embassy. Later on, the same people had to leave Kuwait in a hurry; the rumour was they had some sort of disagreement with embassy people. My mom met the wife many years later, she sat in an armchair in our living room and went on and on, "Saddam is a criminal, Saddam is a dictator, why doesn't he send his own son to fight his stupid wars?" etc.

My dad was a rebel with his single small picture. He tried to shield me from the propaganda when he was old. Once in a while he would make a vague comment, like "don't

always believe everything you see on TV." Explaining that statement further was simply too dangerous.

As a child I had many nightmares involving Saddam Hussein. I never met the man, but seeing the four metre sentence of his name inscribed made me realize he must be scary. Normally intelligent people would suddenly turn stupid in the presence of his picture.

I immigrated to Canada in 1988. Ah, the freedom! No pictures of him, no long speeches on TV, nobody even knew who he was. The only time I'd hear his name was when I came in contact with another Iraqi. All Iraqis have what I call the Saddam obsession. We can go on for hours talking about how much we loathe the man. Each has his own favourite story of horror to tell, about the time Saddam assaulted his own sons, the women he raped, members of parliament shot on the spot for criticizing him, the his goes on. I have heard these stories told and retold with varying degrees of dramatization. Life falls silent, they are passed from one generation to the next.



I have a theory that Saddam Hussein doesn't exist. We, the citizens of Iraq, invented him. We placed his picture and statue everywhere, taught our kids to fear him and imagined his eyes and ears spying on us everywhere deep into the Wizard of Oz, he has magical powers because everybody around him believes he has. He can be a fictional man and a scary bear the next day. Oh, yes—he might have nuclear weapons, so I think Saddam should be taken to weapons inspectors because he knew they would find nothing. His action as the regional hegemon would be diminished.

Before you pronounce me, I assure you: I'm familiar with the history of my ancestral land. I am painfully aware of the 150,000 Kurdish people massacred in northern Iraq. I know about the war against Iran that killed one million, both Iraqi and Iranian. In 1980, I read an Amnesty International report that substantiated human rights conditions in Iraq. Tales of torture, mistreatment of people who disappear never to be found again. It said Iraq is the only Arab country that tortures both men and women equally—an equal opportunity country for abuse. I cried for a week after reading that report.

However, Saddam is a single man. Millions of people had to co-exist with his plans to put them into action. It is they who must bring him down. One day, the people of Iraq will remove all those pictures from their walls. Saddam will say, we are sick of dying to defend the image of a single man. Morals will say, we are fed up watching our kids grow up in poverty. The torturers in the prison will say, I refuse to obey orders. I take responsibility for my own actions. The Wizard will lose all his magical powers and we will use a helpless, scared man.

You can achieve that by simply changing the guy at the top with yet another wizard, as the U.S. is likely to do. Only significant is that by the Iraqi people has a chance of establishing a truly democratic regime. I hope that day of awakening comes soon because Saddam obsession is spreading across Canada.

And what did my dream mean? Perhaps I am aware of that business presentation. I am about to give. Against all this dream it was able to look him in the eye and speak directly to him. In my next dream I will say "Mr. President, you're a liar!"

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## AN ANGLO ICON'S CHANGING FACE

At 90, Montreal's Ritz-Carlton hotel is adapting to the 21st century

**CALL IT** a contemporary anachronism, a young relic, or an old habit. Montreal's Ritz-Carlton hotel is a throwback to an era that isn't recent, but also not bygone—a time when houses in its neighbourhood in the foot of Mount Royal had names such as Ravenscrag and Mount Stephen, a time when diners, not high-teas, lined Sherbrooke Street, and when visitors arrived at the hotel with 30 pieces of luggage, intent on staying for a few months.

Some central business of English Montreal have vanished, others have adapted. Bloor's, it says in Simpson's have been replaced by local retailers, Ogilvy and Holt have lost their apostrophes but, like Bloor's, are still

After the Second World War, formal wear was no longer a dining room requirement

selling experiences. But the Ritz-Carlton remains the showcase, the living heritage of anglo Montreal's belle époque, when a cluster of powerful clans controlled roughly 70 percent of Canada's total wealth. The Ritz, which turns 90 on New Year's Eve, was their playground, their private club.

The Ritz has been renovated on several occasions—a \$25-million facelift is now underway—but its essence has not changed a bit. It is still all marble and chandeliers, deep carpets and furniture out of Masterpiece Theatre. Go there once in a few weeks

and staff members will recognize you. Still, the Ritz has modernized, somewhat.

Just after the Second World War, the board of directors decided that formal dinner wear need no longer be a requisite in the dining room. The general manager at the time, a Swiss, resigned in protest. In 1972, Mick Jagger and the Rolling Stones were barred from the same dining room for wearing jeans and bomber jackets. "Today, you might be politely asked to remove your fedora inside the bar, perhaps." "There are gentleman businessmen running the world who don't even own a jacket," notes the current general manager, Allan Federer. Nowadays, visitors to the Ritz are greet-

ed in French as well as in English, but most of the time with a European accent. The Ritz has had a major European connection since its creation. The Montreal hotel was among the very first to hire César Ritz, the famous Swiss hotelier, as a consultant. "When ownership was local, the hotel's management came from Europe more often than not, now it's often owned by a consortium based in Geneva and managed by a native Montrealer."

But Frenchophones were not always greeted in their language, nor even made to feel welcome, at least not until the mid-70s. Marcelle Richler, who lived just across the street, was, in earlier years, a regular at the Café du Paris Ritz Bar—and probably one of the reasons the dress code was further relaxed. With typical, wry wit, Richler provides a hilarious description of the Ritz in his last novel, *Larmes*. The wedding of the "second Mrs. Pinoffsky" is a vicious caricature of Jewish parvenus trying to look extra or than the Ritz—a hint that, however, at some time, no one more welcome there than Fran-

coisne Quebecers. "The Ritz had for years been rotting as a bastion of the anglophone establishment, living off its past and its former glory," Federer acknowledges as diplomatically as possible.

Fernand Robit, then a young upstart manager with rich connections inside the francophone business milieu—and Brian Mulroney's Conservative Party—changed all that. During the 1980s, the Ritz Bar was where you met the customized old men in dark suits and younger-looking women in flashier dress—who made Montreal chic.

Mulroney has been a director of the Ritz, and as general manager he frequently used the royal suite—a 4,000-sq.-foot exclusive parlor fit for a queen—and currently retails for \$2,500 a night. But when Queen Elizabeth II stayed in independently, with a full entourage during the 1976 Olympics—after demonstrators had threatened the security of her pact, the Britannia—the royal suite was unavailable. Another queen had booked it already. Lieke Martens was playing somewhere in town.

Howard Hughes, the eccentric billionaire, stayed at the Ritz for several weeks in 1952. Connected that someone wanted to poison him, Hughes would not eat food or live in different five-course meals in his room, sometimes in the middle of the night and, in an attempt to find any plot, make his selections privately in his room. The Ritz suggested that specially to his room, on permanent duty—he could afford it.

When the Conservatives last power, the Ritz did not exactly go to seed, but it fell on harder times, and the last clientele migrated towards other power bars. Now, new owners, now management acrobats turning things around. An occupancy rate of nearly 72 per cent means the hotel is profitable, thanks mostly to out-of-town customers. Federer's goal is to turn Montrealers back to hang out and eat at the hotel, just like in the old days. But managing change in a living heritage site with a historic line and very population. "Change can be a double-edged sword, indeed," Federer says, "because every one owns special, personal memories of what defines this hotel."

Of his turnaround strategy, Federer says, "Growth is a name, regardless, when a situation has to become contemporary again." After all, the Ritz would reach the venerable century mark—the entry level for serious institutions—for another decade. **BT**

The contented old men in dark suits and younger-looking women in flashier dress who made Montreal chic gathered at the Ritz Bar



The Ritz, which opened in 1913, was a bastion of the anglophone establishment

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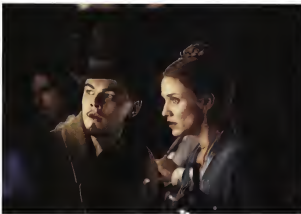
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## GUYS AND DOLLS, BLUES AND BRAWLS

From carnage to coma, BRIAN D. JOHNSON writes, 'tis the season to get heavy

**EACH YEAR HOLLYWOOD** saves the best for last, assuming that members of the Academy—an aging group with a fragile memory—will vote for films that are fresh in their minds. These tend to be serious pictures, or at least pictures with serious themes. With producers an odd conundrum. As a rule that's supposed to be full of peace and joy, we can look forward to movies about suicide and depression (*The Hours*), loneliness (*Alone Schindler*), child abuse (*Anthony Padell*), the Holocaust (*The Pianist*), and blood-curdling carnage (*Gangs of New York*).

There are some lighter options. These looking for more fun, less gray, brand of laughter can watch the gangs of Middle Earth go at it in *The Lord of the Rings: The Two Towers*. Tom Hanks plays a humorless

A convincing DiCaprio falls for Dutch's sexy gladiator in Scorsese's *Gangs of New York*

gang of hide-and-seek with Leonardo DiCaprio as Dutch Scholten and Al Pacino as Amsterdam. The film is a year ruled by malice, Spang's Pato Almodovar remake the genre with *Talk to Her*, a sublime tale of two women in coma. And for sheer wit, nothing matches *Adaptation*, the best American movie of 2002. Both *Adaptation* and *The Two Towers* have been previously reviewed in *Maclean's*. Here's a look at the latest holiday releases.

**Gangs of New York, the greatest Martin Scorsese had been doing to make for 30 years, a bloodbath. An exquisitely filmed bloodbath, but a bloodbath nonetheless.**

As a critic, you like to think you've developed a thick skin for violence. Yet *Gangs* picks such a visceral violence that when I staggered out of the theatre, though suspecting I'd witnessed a landmark in American film, I didn't know what to make of it. Still don't.

Set genuinely in the 1860s, in a fortress corner of Lower Manhattan called the Five Points, *Gangs* is a tale of Dickenson's war with the most vicious of his kind. The movie begins and ends with pitched battles. In the opening scene, a gang of Native Americans born in prison with a grace some clash with a band of Irish immigrants, leaving its leader, Paddy Wilson (Liam Neeson), dead. Twenty years later his orphaned son, Amsterdam (DiCaprio), returns to the neighborhood in disguise, on a secret mis-

sion to bust down his father's killer, Bill the Butcher (Daniel Day-Lewis). An Amsterdam assassinates himself into Bill's gang, the boss starts to treat him as a surrogate son. And when he falls for a sexy pickpocket named Jenny (Cameron Diaz)—who's also in deep with the Butcher—the plot thickens.

The showman performance is this ramp-tastic spectacle, and the one that has the critics abuzz, belongs to Day-Lewis. Playing a cross between Jack the Ripper and Hagen, he acts with the kind of Grand Guignol relish that Jack Nicholson was once famous for. For a time, Day-Lewis dropped out of acting to become a shoe salesman, and one senses that he's studied out of meat, and of men, with the same obsessive dedication he applied to leather uppers. It's all very over-the-top. But DiCaprio is more convincing. Ever since *Day-Lewis* allowed that word as an actor in *Law of the Moon*, I've found it hard to take him seriously as a film actor. And if he's overrated as an actor, DiCaprio is underrated, still trying to shake the pretty-boy stigma of *Titanic*. In *Gangs*, he succeeds.

Scorsese, meanwhile, directs the movie like an action picture set loose in the world's largest jail. From the opening battle, shot in an impressive whirl of savage brushstrokes, he depicts violence as a bloody war. And with a team of high pedigree screenwriters—Jay Cocks (*Age of Innocence*), Steven Zaillian (*Schindler's List*) and Kenneth Lonergan (*You Can Count on Me*)—the director projects his drama onto a monumental canvas of history and politics. The Butcher's underworld is linked to a den of Tammany Hall corruption led by the big-brother William "Boss" Tweed (Jim Broadbent). The story converges with America's first urban uprising, the 1863 Civil War draft riots. And to the end, as Scorsese traces the history all the way to the owners of contemporary Manhattan, it's as if he's mapped out the bloodlines of American intolerance.

*Gangs* is gripping drama. But I couldn't help feeling that, no matter how much Scorsese likes to talk about nonstopping the Indian two million, he's strayed a long way from his cinematic catharsis. With *Gangs*, he becomes the Carl B. DeMille of bloodshed, magnifying a mass black into a mass clown. In trying to make the ultimate non-movie about his childhood hometown, he has, ironically, made a picture that attacks more of Hollywood than New York. If *Gangs* is the gay movie to call all gay



Kidman brings ardent intelligence and a restless wit to Virginia Woolf in *The Hours*

movies, *The Hours* is its distaff antidote: a consummately intelligent literary chick flick. While *Gangs* is heroic drama driven by violent action—a grinding engine of good versus evil—*The Hours* revolves almost entirely around character. It's about the heroism of women simply trying to survive. And in its own way, it's equally ambiguous. Based on Michael Cunningham's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, the story uses Virginia Woolf's 1922 novel *Mrs. Dalloway* as a loom to interweave the lives of three women in three different eras. First there is Woolf herself (Nicole Kidman), who is battling insanity as she writes *Mrs. Dalloway* in a London suburb. Then there's Laura Brown (Julianne Moore), a depressed '50s housewife in suburban Los Angeles who's reading *Mrs. Dalloway*, and dying to see her family. Then, in present day Manhattan, we have Clarissa Vaughan (Meryl Streep), another Mrs. Dalloway, who is organizing a party for her embittered friend Richard (Ed Harris), a poet dying of AIDS.

If *Gangs* is the ultimate gay movie, *The Hours* is its distaff chick flick that unfolds as a fugue of emotions.

Screenwriter David Hare has created a faithful, elegant rendering of the novel. And although Cunningham's narrative takes place almost entirely in the minds of the three women, Hare doesn't resort to voice-over. Instead, through telling details, the picture unfolds as a fugue of emotions. And while the story never seems fully resolved, the performances are superb. Offering a great flip side of the '50s housewife portrayed in *Far From Heaven*, Moore conveys a world of unspoken dread beneath the sunny smile of a suburban mom. Streep recreates Clarissa with a shimmering vulnerability. And although the idea of Kidman playing Virginia Woolf may seem like sacrilege, she brings a steely intelligence and a restless wit to the role—even if her posthumous nose taken some getting used to.

It's been an unusually good year for women's roles. And there are two of them in Chicago, a screen version of the 1975 Broadway musical—well, in town was adapted from *The House Lady* (1956), a play that inspired two previous movies, a 1927 silent film called *Chicago* and 1943's *Rose Marie*, starring Ginger Rogers. The latest incarnation is a slick, sexy pageant of skin and glitter, a high class burlesque show sequenced with glitzy scenes of celebrity justice.

The movie offers a *Caged Heat* tale of two female inmates in a fight for the spotlight. Renée Zellweger (who has determined spirit on the *Miss* films), a wannabe movie performer who goes to jail for flitting after her lover full of lead. A swooping Catherine



as Zeti Jones plays Rose's idol, Velma Kelly, a cabaret star who lands in the state prison after killing her husband and stalker. A top-dancing Richard Gere is Billy Flynn, the sharklike lawyer who promises to get them both off. And Queen Latifah delivers a riveting performance as the jail's Matron Marston.

Zelweger, Zeti-Jones and Gere all dig with their own voices (and presumably dance to their own licks). And they deliver the rattle duzle in all the right places, even if Gere seems to self-entitle Director-choreographer Rob Marshall as if he solves the reason/justice issue by staging the musical number as Rose's fantasy projection. It's all amazingly seductive, and equally forgettable. This is a cold confection, a movie without a story, so if you while it lasts but when the lights come up, it feels as empty as the end of any other movie on pay-per-view.

There's nothing to say in *About Schmidt*, not unless you count the scene where Kathy Bates gets naked with Jack Nicholson in a bed but. But this movie has acres of heart. It's a picture that disarms my cynicism (I laughed, I cried and made me forget I was a critic). As in his previous film, *The Edge*, Nicholson plays a movie who comes in the first reel. But with a performance that includes pathos, physical comedy and everything in between, he shows more subtlety and range than he's done in decades.

Jack plays an insurance attorney, a drane named Warren Schmidt who bids farewell to his job after a lifetime of service, and to his wife after 42 years of marriage—the drage

Bates gets naked in *Schmidt*, Zeti-Jones sings it up in *Chicago*, and Queen Latifah (top photo) is the year's best musical *Farewell to My Love* (top photo) is the year's best

dead in the opening scenes. Alone in the world, he embarks on a journey of self-discovery in a movie home. He is a doctor in Denver, where his estranged daughter, Joanna (Zeti-Jones), is about to marry a man he considers a "manicomp" (a maladjusted, waterbed salesman named Randall [Dermot Mulroney]). Schmidt is also appalled by the groom's boozing parents, as peculiarly his five-armed mother (Lana)

There are some show-stopping moments, including a hilarious scene of Schmidt trying to get comfortable on a waterbed. But for once there's nothing about his acting. As a movie who did not want to be seen, he is slowly opening up to the world. Jack adds himself to it smaller than life. Director Alexander Payne and his co-writer Jim Taylor (the team behind *Cottonmouth* and *Elephant*) tend to pursue their more character, who are much against a withering portrait of Middle America. But that's why the movie makes you see, as the story

**Almodóvar, cinema's most sensitive iconoclast, turns *Talk to Her* into a subtle and complex exploration of human compassion**



backdrops from cynicism to sentiment.

Roman Polanski's *The Pianist*, which beat Almodóvar to win the Palme d'Or in Cannes, is more conventional, and contrived. But as a Holocaust drama with a happy ending, it has undeniable power. The movie is based on a memoir by Wladyslaw Szpilman (Adrien Brody), a famous Polish pianist who escapes Nazi deportation and hides in the ruins of Warsaw only to be rescued by a German officer. This is Polanski's *Schindler's List*, and as a Polish Holocaust survivor he may have been overwhelmed by his mandate. The drama begins stiffly, with a gliding narrative and soft images of Nazi terror. But Polanski's signature becomes more evident as *The Pianist* turns into a thriller about a man running scared, according to a script that through Warsaw's bombed-out buildings. At one point Szpilman emerges, and something for the first time can be seen in a clear-cut of a desecrated city covered in white ash. It's an indelible image.

**Autism** (Fisher), based on another true story of survival, marks the director's debut of David Wexler. Adopted by Fisher from his own memoir, it chronicles the struggle of an angry young African American to come to terms with a childhood of abuse. Fisher (now called Derek Luke) is a fellow who calls a group of people, and after a series of trials, he's forced to undergo therapy with a group of people (Wexler's ego). As a father son bond is forged in the kitchen between doctor and patient, Fisher comes to terms with a childhood of inner-home abuse



## Mama and other marvels

As 2002 draws to a close, Almodóvar's *Talk to Her* is the most personal favorite, in order of preference.

1. *The Pianist* (Roman Polanski) A masterpiece of film & TV's darkest adventure and *Talk to Her*, with the last long of *Lost* (Tough to Play). Two heartwarming and a little more like *Chicago* to *Paradise Lost*, with themes of corruption and redemption in the movie's master. Almodóvar's *Chicago* (now a masterpiece) is all—see, humor, beauty, politics, and so.

2. *Adaptation* (The year's wildest and most warmly entertaining American movie. Playing both screenwriters in a film that mocks Hollywood while making the best of it, Nicolas Cage delivers himself for all these bad actors).

3. *Talk to Her* (Pedro Almodóvar's tender tale of two women's lives, and the most like *Love* film, in 2002's most touching masterpiece).

4. *Almodóvar* (The *Real* (Wexler)) The world's first love story is a tape of *Home* (the last of the *Acute* ice). Zachary Quinto's mother's loveless romance of a woman's story, and a timeless drama from an ancient legend.

5. *Swimming with Dolphins* (Gael García Bernal)

and tries to track down his real mother—who gives him to him while serving time. *Swimming* is a film with the plain-spoken integrity that he brings to his acting, and in *Love* he has found a way with cinema to match his own. But between these two directors there's far too much charm in large. And no amount of trash can save *Autism*

er Michael Moore takes aim at America's gun culture and scores a bull's eye.

6. *About Schmidt* (As an old man drift in the barrens of Middle America, a seriously injured Jack Nicholson delivers the most powerful performance of his career.)

7. *For the People* (With a radical Almodóvar twist, Todd Haynes tells his story '50s into drama with such gorgeous, storybook, we don't know whether to love them or hate them.)

8. *Punch-Drunk Love* (The romance falls short in the ruthless romantic comedy, but Paul Thomas Anderson's credit for finding the actor in Adam Sandler, and turning him into a *Salvatore* story.)

9. *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* (The story of a man who is a *Salvatore* story.)

10. *Gangs of New York* (In this blood-soaked, baroque spectacle, everyone tries to find the *Movie* (the story of a man who is a *Salvatore* story.)

11. *Swimming with Dolphins* (Gael García Bernal)

12. *Adaptation* (The year's wildest and most warmly entertaining American movie. Playing both screenwriters in a film that mocks Hollywood while making the best of it, Nicolas Cage delivers himself for all these bad actors).

a hospital pediatrician and a Harvard-educated lawyer. He has cashed millions of dollars in fraudulent checks, and did it all before his 29th birthday. A staid Tom Hanks plays Carl Lennart, the frustrated FBI agent who tracks down Almodóvar, developing a paternal affection for him in the end. And Christopher Walken turns in a gem-like performance as Almodóvar's father, a Willy Loman dreamer who's bankrupted by the IRS.

Catch life if *You Can* tells a fascinating story. And although it comes from director Steven Spielberg, it's remarkably free of moral baggage. But maybe that's because it's a Hollywood movie, a movie who treated all the world as a show business lark. And to see this melancholic movie with a touch of security, serving with "newspapers" who were thrilled to have such glamorous jobs, we're reminded of a career American that's forever lost, if ever existed. There's yet another movie based on a strange, though not unusual, anecdote: *Confessions of a Dangerous Mind*, directed by George Clooney, which chronicles the career of Chuck D'Amico, a brilliant double agent as a CIA assassin. I've yet to see it, but it sounds wild.

Of all the movies opening during Christmas week, my favorite is Almodóvar's *Talk to Her*. After his Oscar-winning *All About My Mother* (1999), director's most sensitive work is continuing to mature. Almodóvar became famous for his pop culture and campy pop music. And the movie is a little like a color drama, but increasingly he's finding beauty beneath the surface. With *Talk to Her*, he builds a deeply affecting drama on the most unlikely premise. The story concerns two men in love with unconscious women. Margo (Daria Grigoriadis), a journalist, falls for a female novelist (Penelope Cruz), who has a husband after being married by a bull. At the hospital he befriends Benigno (Javier Cámara), a male nurse who is in love with a beautiful girl (Leticia Dolado), who's who in a coma.

In Hollywood, this kind of fixation could only serve as fodder for high-concept comedy. But Almodóvar turns it into a beautifully subtle and complex exploration of human compassion. From one character to the next, the story unfolds as an incredible revelation. With every frame you're given in the hands of cinema. This is a story that is to be truly on hold—in a movie that serves not as an assault, but as a gift.



Searching the world for Eastern Google, the internet query giant, has compiled its Zed-point list of the top 2000 searchers.

**Flow**  
Jan. 6 to Feb. 23  
Vancouver artist Gu Kiang exhibits both critical and humorous photographs at his Master's Museum of Art that explore the merging of cultures and crossbreeding of history.

**Great Northern  
Circus & Toboggan  
Races 2003**  
Jan. 28 to Feb. 2  
Over 500 North  
American engineering  
students will build  
five-person toboggan  
teams, complete with  
safe braking systems  
and roll bars. The  
teams must also  
come up with original  
costumes and music.

**Red Rock Offer**  
Starts Jan. 28  
Based on the title of Vancouver's *Ed Robert "Red" Robinson*, this rock 'n' roll musical will appear in more than 50 locations across Canada. Robinson, through his 7500s radio work, is a close friend with musicians such as Ray Charles and Bill Haley.

*Robinson*

**Non-mourning  
Black Loyalists**  
Jan. 27 to April 23  
An exhibition currently  
visiting the New  
Brunswick Museum  
explores the struggles  
and triumphs of Black  
Loyalists who settled  
in Nova Scotia from  
1783 and 1785  
(www.nbm.ca)

## A man in a blue patterned shirt and jeans stands next to a small figure of a person in a Canadian flag costume. They are in front of a brick wall with a 'POSTES CANADA' sign and a mailbox.

Doughlas Shand points to the gray sky above the Irish Mist Plant in Sligo, Harrison, N.S. "That's where they use me," he says. "I'm a small fishing community, located 230 km south-southwest of Halifax, the only government documented UFO sighting in the world is what put the town on the map. On the evening of Oct. 4, 1967, claim some residents, a house-shaped object, about 20 m long, fell from the sky. In the investigation reports, both the RCMP and Royal Canadian Air Force call the dark object a "UFO".

Years later, in spring 2001, the town's post office unveiled a unique postmark: a blue-ink image of a UFO hovering over a lighthouse and a boat on the water. Now Sligo Shand, a 43-year-old automotive repairer, seems to exorcise the town's

Boonie LaFrance instructed the post office's very own artist. The tower's ZIP postmark (below) is fast becoming a collector's item.

as far away as Eritrea. Says Shalaby, "I'm not around to see Cindy Niekirk dole out letters, but the world has seen half. They all were books and newspapers stamped with the date, however, even if it was we put up a sign for the war." Shalaby

There hasn't been a Shag Harbour event in 10 years, but it's not surprising the group thinks they have some of Canada's best deep-sea fish. "If they say Kordich," says Kordich, "they're kidding."

[illegible]

Based on the Pulitzer Prize-winning 1998 novel by Michael Cunningham, the movie has been selected by the U.S. National Board of Review of Motion Pictures as Best Film of 2002. The story follows the mysterious connection between the lives of three women

**THESE** Cheaper's *Tacata-Gated* (p. 16), currently plugging their latest album, *Detox*, reveals some of his recent obsessions:

**BOGE, LONGSHOTS AND ATTEMPTS: EXPLORING THE WORLD AFTER SEPTEMBER 11** by Thomas L. Friedman. "I was too pro-American; he was a bit too apologetic. I expected him to be more balanced and hard-felling." **CD: FLYING SAVERS** (only vol. 1) by Bill Hink. "He's an American comedian. He cuts up everything that's weird and puts it in perfect context."



MICHIGAN - L. MICHAEL  
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The fourth in a line of combat simulators, *Star Wars: Battlefront* lets users view action from the perspective of battle-mech-weilding tanks that resemble those of the Transformer boys loaded to the gills with laser blasters and missile launchers. Gamers can decide to lead a Jedi from a nimble 20-tonne scout much like the Falcon, or with little firepower – or to a 120-tonne Imperial Armored Fleet. A great new feature is the battle droid, a gladiatorial-type arena combatant with (usually) no mercy. *Battlefront* also has many as 16 co-op players (which is the best local support option).

Electronic Arts, Seattle, Washington

[illegible]

(Electronic Arts, EA EA)



son pick for *Lila* is a decent second. Second World War action film *Lola* takes gamers through Normandy, Belgium, and Berlin. The single-player campaign, however, only lasts about three hours and has little to recommend it. *Hitler's Will Not Be Moved* is a kind of Brothers in Arms, skidding the historical drop into Normandy and the merciless shelling in the Battle of the Bulge. *Spezial* is a good, if short, challenge. Multi-player is the real test, though. *Spezial* adds 21 weapons to the original list and gamers can play as *Hitler*, *Severed Arm*, or *von Gernae* forces. The wide selection of maps and game types makes it worth the price.



## Top 10 | What in the world are you searching for?

The search for enlightenment is endless. But Google, the hugely popular Internet tool that feeds peoples' need to know, has compiled lists of their most frequent queries over the last year. Drawn from searches around the world, here are some of the more interesting, and illuminating, tidbits from the 2012 Year End Google Zings list.

■ The top three women sought after on the Net in global text searches were: 1) Jennifer Lopez, 2) Britney Spears, 3) Shakira. Pamela Anderson was number seven on the list. ■ If male stars, Eminem was the No. 1 query in three search categories: men (Brad Pitt was second), musicians and images of men (again, pretty Pitt was number two). The majority of searches for the 36-year-old Detroit rapper were in the last four months of the year.

Eminem's status slips to sixth, however, when it comes to German searching for musicians. Their first preference? Shakira. ■ The top 10 television shows were: 1) The Simpsons, 2) Big Brother, 3) The Game of Thrones, 4) South Park, 5) SpongeBob, 6) Anna Nicole Smith, 7) The Simpsons, 8) American Idol, 9) Popcorn, 10) EastEnders.

■ Where do people want to travel? The four most popular destinations—at least online—were, in descending order: Paris, Canada, New York and India. ■ Days with a potential war in Iraq, the top news story of the year was the World Cup. It is no surprise, therefore, that British soccer star David Beckham (billionaire reformer Spike Cook's Victoria's Secret) nabbed the No. 1 spot for athletic queries. He was the third most popular search in the images of men category.

Apparently, it's a lockdown from top left: Spider-Man, J.J. Abrams and Eminem.

In Japan, Beckham holds the honour of being the only man Japanese men in the top 10 searches of men on the Internet. (In fact, Beckham is so loved in that country that on Dec. 17 in Tokyo, Japanese candy company Morikawa created a three-as-high chocolate statue of him.)

■ Spider-Man was the movie everyone wanted to know about, with Harry Potter and Star Wars close behind. Despite Eminem's star power, it didn't rise in seventh position. ■ The top three videogames people looked up are: 1) The Sims, 2) Counter Strike, and 3) Grand Theft Auto Vice City. ■ Closer to home, Nintendo, Wii 3 and Wii U were in the top 10 in the list of queries making more movements.

## Books | Sailing the ocean blue long before Columbus

Two years after the 500th anniversary celebrations for Christopher Columbus' 1492 discovery of the New World, revised Royal Navy submarine commander Gavin Menzies' claims in 2002 (Owl House) that the Italian was pre-empted 70 years earlier by a Chinese admiral. In fact, Menzies writes, four Ming dynasty fleets set out that year on voyages that took them to the Americas, Antarctica, Australia and just about everywhere else. The only large land mass the Chinese seem to have missed in Western Europe, the one place where they could not possibly have escaped notice. That's why the first real clue to be solved over Menzies' claims (Owl House/Harvard University Press) is another. That many of his assertions have been made before, particularly in regard to North America. Various United States First National Captain's memoirs of visitors who arrived long before Columbus' time, people remarkable for their lack of what seemed to be megaphones. Many scholars take the voyages to have been into existing Asia. But Menzies is the first to gather together all the scattered hints of early Chinese ocean-going fleets.

## BESTSELLERS

### Fiction

	PREVIOUS WEEK
1. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	1
2. THE NARRATOR OF NEW YORK Walter Dean Myers (H)	4
3. UNCLE TOM'S CABIN (C)	7
4. THE POLYGRAPHIST Austin Smith (H)	2
5. THE UNDISCOVERED COUNTRY John Updike (H)	3
6. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	6

### Non-Fiction

1. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	1
2. SPARKS: THE LIFE OF John Updike (H)	2
3. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	3
4. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	4
5. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	5
6. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	6
7. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	7
8. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	8
9. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	9
10. THE LAST THING WE COULD DO Walter Dean Myers (H)	10

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## LIVING IN THE MOMENT

Hanging out with Zal Yanovsky made 'you feel happy like an old-time movie'

**WHEN I FIRST MET** Zal Yanovsky, I was a teenager. It was 1979 I was a 14-year-old musician with deluded ambitions, assuming there was no better fate in the world than becoming a rock star. Zal had been there, done that, and moved on. *Auto-founder* of the Lovin' Spoonful, he'd been Canada's very own Beatle-star man in *The Ed Sullivan Show*. For most of the world he would always be that tiny lead guitarist plucking optimism out of the air in his hit *Day After Tomorrow*, *Sunrise in the City* and *The Way We Live in Now*. But by the time we became friends, those days were behind him. Zal didn't like to live in the past. He was a rock star who lived a second act even richer than the one that made him famous.

With Rose, his second wife, he carved out a fresh career in Kingston, Ont., living on a nearby farm, they raised chickens and beehives. In the heart of winter, they ensured a limestone stable to create Chas Puggy—a vibrant restaurant that became the hub of a renaissance movement. Later they restored another historic building to house the Pan Chancho history. Zal never stopped being an artist, or a star, but he filled his plate with the stuff of life—good food, good friends, and good work in the community.

Zal died suddenly on Dec. 13, an day before his 58th birthday. I still can't believe he's gone. He was so alive. Zal had the finest mind, the sharpest wit and the biggest heart of anyone I've known. One of his favourite phrases was "ooga booga" and he was an ooga-booga guy. He loved cars, dogs, beer, and garlic and onions. He played poker every week and shared the inside. He gave nicknames to all his friends. I was always B. Duck, after an old byline that I'd used to avoid confusion with a namesake at the Globe who ended up running a golf ball in Manila. Zal's other pals acquired names like Dick the Buzz, Dick Nihil, Rocky Chuddles, Tex, Yo'ville and Howie the Clown. Zal made chances of fun all. Hanging out with him, to quote that Spoonful song, made "you feel happy like an old-time movie."

There was nothing quite like stepping into a fancy restaurant with Zal. He was big and boisterous and didn't believe in dressing up. He'd take his place at the table, as excited as a kid at a birthday party, and you could feel the other diners shiver with trepidation as that loud, hairy guy in jeans and a T-shirt filled the room. But inevitably he would win the room over, starting with the waitress. He didn't have to tell anyone who he was. It was obvious that he was special. He had huge charisma. And he made it his business to make sure everyone around him was having a much fun as he was.

Being Zal's friend meant being his straight man. He loved puns and wordplay, and as he improvised jokes, spouting a load of verbal jabs, it was a kick just trying to keep up. Zal thought like a writer, one who worked out loud. I kept telling him to write stuff down, but he always said that he wrote up on the page, even though he was a nonconformist. I was with him one night when he met Michael Ondaatje. Even really, Zal couldn't resist a joke. He held out his hands, thumbs tucked into his chest, as if mimicking



William Defoe's tortured Carragosa, and cried, "The English Patient—two thumbs up!" Behind the interest shown, however, was a serious, dedicated soul. With Rose, his partner in life and business for 31 years, he brought a dignified passion to Chas Puggy, then Pan Chancho. The last time I saw him in Kingston, he gave me a secret-to-secret tour of Pan Chancho, a widely anonymous history/culinary that occupies three stories of a vintage building in the heart of town. He joked with all the staff, while peppering them with all kinds of questions. And when he reached the manager, who was tending up the proceeds from the previous day, he was like a Broadway producer frantically over the process.

In an age of celebrity, Zal enjoyed a kind of fame that didn't need the media. It was a tangible goodness based on thick bread, generous olive oil, twinkling eye contact and a relentless sense of humor. It was about filling a room, and a room. At the *Wing Standard* portrait out, Zal was the king of Kingston. To mark his passing, the newspaper devoted the first three pages and the editorial to its local hero.

Zal trained lucrative offers to do Spoonful reunion tours—although he did join the band's former singer, John Schumann, for an amiable jaunt through Scandinavia in 1997. During the last decade, he picked up the guitar again. He'd play every morning at home, coaxing softly amplified blues out of his Fender Stratocaster. Over the years, we jammed together occasionally. I'm a percussionist, and we fell into a silly routine of playing the old cha-cha, *March on Wood*. Our running gag was that we'd form a band called the Knockers. It would perform just one song.

As a musician, Zal was more serious than you might expect. If you remember the guy on *Ed Sullivan* with the rubber frog dangling from his guitar. He was like one of those old blues guys, restrained and careful. He loved R & B. At a New Year's party at his house to ring in the year 2000, where the food ranged from a shiny slab of lamb to a half of cow, he wouldn't let me near the sound system. He put on one classic R & B set after another. He played Marvin Gaye's *Uptight* three times in a row. That was Zal. A man who lived in the moment and never wanted it to end.

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